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17 January 1966

MEDIA LINES

EAST-WEST EUROPEAN TV EXCHANGE. The two European international television networks -- West Europe's non-political "Eurovision" and East Europe's Communist-controlled "Intervision" -- recently concluded an agreement for the regular exchange of newsfilm. Thus, "Intervision" is now receiving coverage of world-wide events, including U.S. civil rights incidents and American student protests against U.S. action in Vietnam; and in return, "Eurovision's" member national networks are being supplied, for use if desired, a stream of Communist propaganda such as visits of Western left-wing politicians to the Soviet Union and East Europe, and Communist Party tours of state-run factories and farms. In September, the first month of the exchange, West European national networks used 12 from a total of 96 East European offerings. The East European network received a smaller total but used a larger percentage.

RED CHINA-WEST GERMAN TV AGREEMENT. In October, West Germany's "Second Channel" television network announced an exchange agreement with Red China, and hopes thereby to obtain a new source of newsfilm on the Vietnamese War.

FRENCH ELECTIONS AND TV. TV played a very important part in the recent French elections, and it may have been De Gaulle's failure to use it early in the campaign which caused him the humiliation of having to enter a runoff against the second most popular man, Francois Mitterand.

CONGO APPOINTS NEW INFORMATION COMMISSIONER. The new Mobutu government in the Congo (Leopoldville) has appointed Jean-Jacques Kande, a Congolese graduate of the higher school of journalism of the Institute of Advanced International Studies, Paris as High Commissioner for Information and Tourism.

TWO NIGERIAN ENGLISH LANGUAGE PAPERS FAIL. Two highly popular, but unprofitable English language newspapers in Nigeria have been forced to close because of continuing deficits. They are the Daily Express, which had a circulation of about 52,500 and the Sunday Express, which had a circulation of 68,000. Both were owned by Lord Thomson of Fleet, the British news magnate.

SOUTH AFRICA INCREASES INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING. The South African Government has greatly expanded its international radio broadcasting, and is now transmitting 30 hours of propaganda per day (there is some overlap due to simultaneous transmissions in more than one language) in English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, German and Dutch.

~~SECRET~~

(Media Lines Cont.)

SOVIETS EXPANDING RADIO FACILITIES NEAR CHINESE BORDER. The USSR's new Radio House under construction at Alma Ata, capital of the Soviet Kazakh Republic, will double to six, transmitters capable of reaching into the Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous Region, China's westernmost province, only 150 miles away. The announcement of the new facilities in Sotsialistik Kazakhstan, Alma Ata's Kazakh language daily (12/18/65) did not imply this capability, but the broadcasting complex has long been programming in Kazakh and Uigur, languages spoken on both sides of the border. In Sinkiang, Uigurs form a majority of the population, and Kazakhs are an important minority.

The Alma Ata Radio House, with doubled facilities for simultaneous transmission, may also add programs in other languages spoken in Kazakhstan -- including Chinese -- ostensibly broadcasting the Moscow version of international developments to the Republic's multi-language residents, but also reaching understanding ears on the Chinese side of the border.



Significant Dates ▶

FEB

- 1 UN General Assembly charges Chinese Communist aggression in Korea. 1951. Fifteenth anniversary.
- 8 Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, arrested 27 Dec 1948, sentenced life imprisonment for treason and espionage. Freed 31 Oct 1956 (see calendar 23 Oct-4 Nov 1956).
- 11 Red Army invades Republic of Georgia (later annexed). 1921. Forty-fifth anniversary.
- 13 Czechoslovakia, last East European nation governed by traditional parliamentary methods falls by coup to Communist control. 1948.
- 14 CPSU 20th Congress, Moscow: Khrushchev denounces Stalin in secret speech. 14-25 February 1956. Tenth anniversary.
- 14 USSR and CPR sign treaty of alliance, repudiating Soviet-Nationalist China Treaty (14 August 1945) authorized by Yalta Agreement. 1950.
- 16 Korean People's Democratic Republic proclaimed in Soviet Occupation Zone. 1948.
- 20 Afro-Asian Scientists Conference, New Delhi, beginning 20 February, sponsored by World Federation of Scientific Workers (Communist).
- 20 Colonel John H. Glenn, USMC, first American to orbit the Earth. 1962.
- 21 Day of Solidarity with Youth and Students Fighting Against Colonialism celebrated by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students (both Communist).
- 23 Kronstadt Uprising. Soldiers, sailors, workers who supported the Oct 1917 Revolution, rise unsuccessfully against "autocracy of Communist Commissars." 1921. 45th anniversary.
- 24 Treaty of Ili (or St. Petersburg) returns to China most of Sinkiang territory occupied (1871) by Russia during Moslem Rebellion (1864-77) but grants portion to Russia. (See 16 May et al for first of what Chicomcs call "unequal treaties" ceding territory to Russia). 1881. 85th anniversary.
- 27 Mao Tse-tung delivers "Hundred Flowers" speech. 1957.

MAR

- 2 First Congress of Third (Communist) International -- COMINTERN. 1919.
- 5 Churchill delivers "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Missouri: denounces Soviet "expansive and proselytizing tendencies" -- "an iron curtain has descended across the Continent." 1946. 20th anniversary.
- 5 Joseph Stalin dies. (Born 21 Dec 1879). 1953.

Briefly Noted

17 January 1966

*Victims
of the
Revolution*

Castro Explains Deportation Policy

In his address for the 7th anniversary of the Cuban revolution and on the eve of convening the Tri-continental Conference in Havana (3 Jan 66), Fidel Castro delivered his fullest doctrinal statement explaining the policies behind "permitting" those "who do not like the revolution or socialism" to leave the country.

Castro's explanation, in addition, goes a long way toward describing the nature of a Communist dictatorship, namely:

the primitive nature of its economic concepts -- labor used in the production of goods is "productive" while many other types are labeled "nonproductive and parasitic"; those engaged in the latter cannot expect to be "supported" by the real revolutionaries.

subjugation of the individual by the state -- people must agree with, acknowledge, and actively support all government policies and directives; they must be willing to go anywhere and engage in any type of work demanded by the communist bureaucracy. Castro says, for example, "those ... who do not know how to do any but unproductive or unnecessary work and whose contracts are canceled, ... let them ... leave the country."

Castro's inhumane administration of the emigration should be stressed for the not overly sophisticated. Firing those who wish to leave the country is cruel and unnecessary punishment. [Full excerpt from Castro's speech is in an attachment.]

* * *

*Normalization Made
Difficult*

Czechs and Hungarians Leave Home.

Officials of Hungary and Czechoslovakia have each publicly admitted that in a nine month period some 3,000 Czechs and equal numbers of Magyars have chosen not to return home from legal travel. This rising number of defections was made possible by more liberal travel regulations. The fact that many of these are professionals -- physicians, scientists and engineers -- probably further aggravates the communist regimes.

The size of the loss by secret escapes across borders has not been publicly stated. But the tremendous loss of East German trained manpower before the Great Wall was built, and the continuing trickle since that time, must be in the minds of some. One consequence of the manpower loss to date has been a reversion to a limited policy of restriction: in Czechoslovakia at least one member of a family must remain home if others travel (e.g., a "hostage" policy); in Hungary it is reported that professional men are having greater difficulty in obtaining permits to travel.

This situation has placed a burden upon those free countries where the travelers wish to stay. These governments find it distasteful to refuse people the opportunity to live where they choose; but, they are on

the horns of a dilemma if they assist these people against the wishes of communist regimes with whom they are attempting so hard to "normalize" relations.

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PROPAGANDIST'S GUIDE to COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS



#69

Commentary

8 Dec 1965-4 Jan 1966

Principal Developments:

1. The USSR presses its new counter-attack against ComChina slightly more sharply in a Dec. 12 Pravda editorial pegged to the 5th anniversary of the 81-party Moscow meeting. It also announces that a Kadar-led Hungarian Party delegation visited Moscow Dec. 11-14 and that Soviet delegations would visit states bordering on China in January: Brezhnev-led to Mongolia, and Shelepin-led to North Vietnam. Moreover, several pieces of evidence during this period -- a highly sensitive secret report of inside CPSU information passed to a Western CP, a confidential Yugoslav source on the October Brezhnev-Gomulka meeting, the overt Yugoslav report described in this Chrono, Dec. 18 & 20, and the Jan. 3 Seymour Freidin story from London -- indicate a Soviet effort to spread the impression that they fear major Chinese border warfare in the not-too-distant future. The Soviets also announce preparations to double their radio broadcasting capabilities at Alma-Ata on the Central Asian frontier with China.

2. Chinese (and Albanian) anti-Soviet attacks seem to indicate increasingly frenzied frustration. On Dec. 21, People's Daily challenges the "cowardly" new leadership of the CPSU to "step forward like men and conduct debate with us." NCNA on the 22nd openly accuses the Soviets of "joining with the U.S. imperialists to vilify China and to drive a wedge between China and Vietnam," charges which PD embellishes on the following day, blaming the Soviets for planting rumors about Chinese demands for dollar payments for transshipping aid to Vietnam and declaring that "a great part of the Soviet military equipment supplied to Vietnam has consisted of obsolete equipment discarded by the Soviet armed forces or damaged weapons," inferior both in quality and quantity to Soviet aid to the Indian reactionaries. On the 27th, PD calls the 20th UNGA session an "anti-China conference" pursuing a policy of "American-Soviet cooperation for domination of the world." On the 30th, PD reprints the Dec. 12 Pravda editorial and extracts from other Soviet comments on the 5th anniversary of the 81-party meeting, calls the CPSU leaders betrayers of the 1957 and 1960 documents, brands the Soviet "united action slogan" a "poisoned weapon," and again threatens to "draw a line of demarcation, both politically and organizationally" between themselves and the CPSU leadership. And on Jan. 4, Chen Yi thrice denies to a Japanese CP Akahata correspondent that China has been isolated in the Afro-Asian world, maintaining that, although the "modern revisionists" and "certain individuals" in the A-A countries are conducting the "anti-Chinese hulla-balloo, they are after all only a small handful."

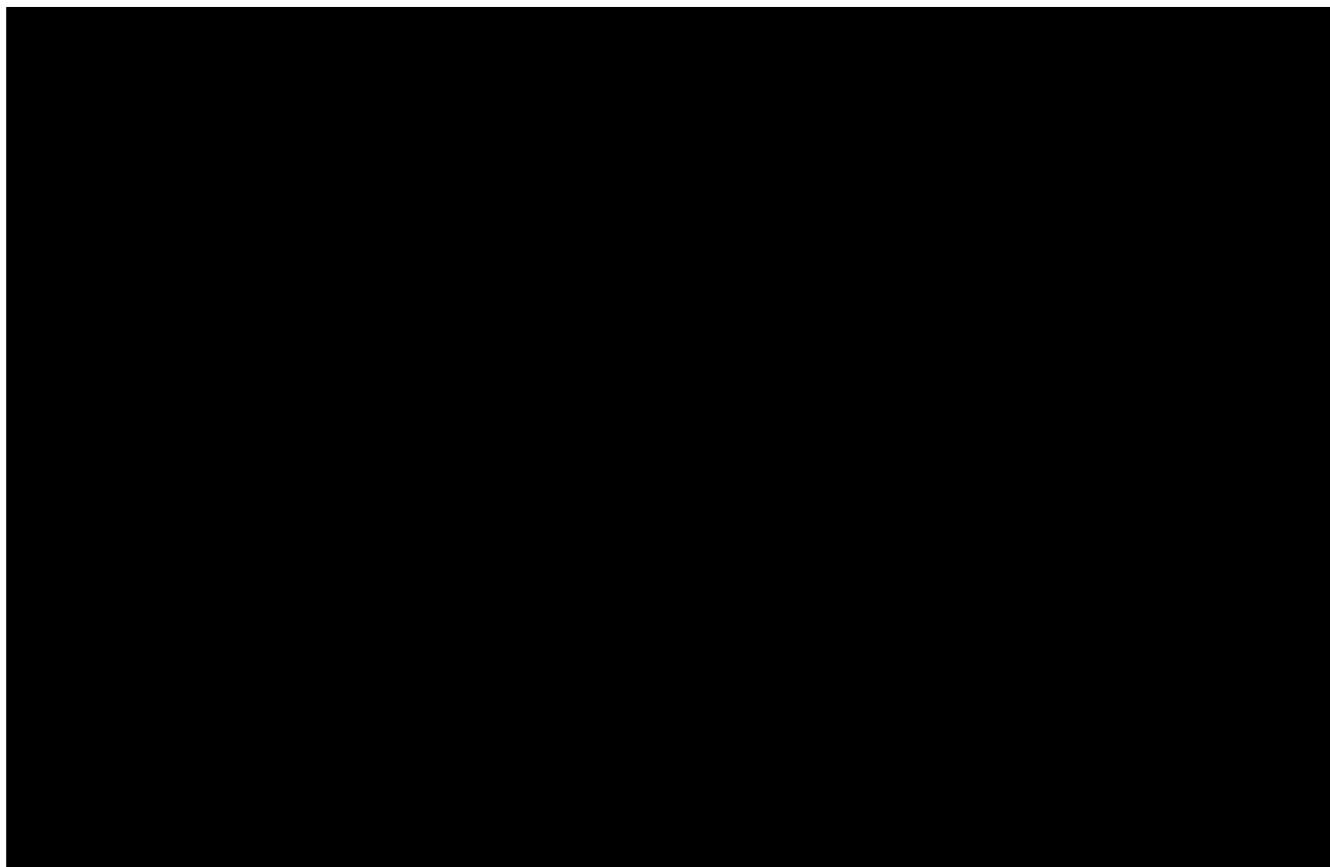
3. In addition to their "routine" attacks on the CPSU, the Albanians on Dec. 30 charge that "the Soviet revisionists are planning to hold some meeting of socialist country parties soon, with the French and Italian parties participating, on the subject of the Vietnam war." Their "devilish plan" is to draw the North Koreans and North Vietnamese to this meeting, thus isolating China and Albania, and Shelepin's mission to Hanoi is to persuade the North Vietnamese to go along with the scheme.

4. The most "neutral" of the European parties seems to be moving somewhat toward support of the Soviet approach: the Rumanians come out in a Dec. 18 Scinteia editorial for "unity in action" and "what unites" the CPs is greater than any differences, while condemning polemics -- though carefully avoiding mention of either of the protagonists. Also, Italian CP SecyGen Longo openly denounces the CCP policies as divisive, -- and British CP SecyGen Gollan endorses a new world Communist meeting.

5. Representatives of the CPs of the capitalist countries of Europe meet in Vienna to plan for another summit meeting of these parties early in 1966.

6. The "Tri-Continent Conference" opens in Havana as this period ends. Although the Chinese are represented by a strong delegation, pro-Chinese dissident groups seem to be pretty well excluded and the organization and agenda appear to be rigged against them. On the eve, Castro publicly reveals that the Chinese are drastically reducing shipments of badly-needed rice to Cuba in the coming year. (This Conference will be covered in a separate guidance.)

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Yugoslav Radio's correspondent, Moscow, Sundic on the 20th reports that the Rumanian views "are being studied with the greatest attention in Moscow," where it is considered that "these views can play a positive role if China accepts them."

"However, hardly anyone believes anything like that possible, especially since many Chinese papers have been writing over the past few days that the so-called modern revisionists -- that is, the Soviet Union, -- the U.S. imperialists, and other reactionaries are preparing to attack China. This campaign, however much unfounded as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, disturbs the Soviet leadership much more than anything so far said by the Chinese side. Well-informed circles even suspect that the opposite is hidden behind the latest Chinese allegations."

D 19-20: Peking observes the 5th anniversary of the founding of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NFLSV) with a flurry of messages, editorials and a rally. Peng Chen at the rally hits hard on theme of "Soviet-U.S. collaboration to dominate the world" and "the defeatist and capitulationist propaganda carried out by the modern revisionists." Chou En-lai attacks Moscow for wanting peace talks and deprecates Soviet aid as "superficial" and offered with ulterior motives.

D 19-21: Austrian CP daily Volksstimme on the 19th carries a brief Politburo announcement that representatives of the CPs of the capitalist countries of Europe met in Vienna to prepare a new conference of the CPs of these countries in the coming year on "the problems of unifying the working class and the power of democracy in the struggle against monopoly capital." A brief note in the Washington Post on the 21st adds: "Informed sources said that the conference would probably be held in Milan."

D 20: Belgrade Politika commentary by Tanyug Peking correspondent Bogunovic, "Chinese Throughout the World, Unite! Why Did Chen Yi Promise that Chiang Kai-shek Would Be Welcome?" points to "many indications that nationalism, even within China itself, is taking on the character of an atmosphere whose temperature is steadily rising. One of the pertinent indications is ... the increase and sharpening of so-called anti-revisionist, and, particularly, anti-Soviet shades in the Chinese national policy."

D 21: People's Daily reprints in full the 28 November "anti-China" editorial from Pravda, with a taunting "editor's note."

"From this article people can see that the new CPSU leaders are so deficient that while wanting to conduct public polemics to justify their revisionist, divisive line, they are nevertheless unable to produce anything presentable....

"Comrades of the new leadership of the CPSU, don't you want to be anti-China heroes? If so, why are you so cowardly that you dare neither to publish our article in full nor give answers...? Why don't you step forward like men and conduct debate with us...!

"We say you have persisted in the general line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination.... Why are you afraid to answer...!

"We say that ... you are vainly attempting to extinguish the roaring flames of the Vietnamese people's revolution.... Why do you prevaricate and dodge the issue?

"We say that your call for 'united action' is a sham and your practice of great-nation chauvinism and splittism is real.... Why don't you dare to say a single word to all these charges?

"We say that one of your aims in clamoring for 'united action' is to deceive the Soviet people.... Why don't you dare to answer?

"Dear comrades, if you are men enough, step forward!... This cannot be countenanced by the great Soviet people and the people of the world...."

D 22: Albanian Zeri I Popullit editorial, "The New Plot by the American Imperialists, the Japanese Militarists, and the Soviet Revisionists Will Never Vanquish the Korean People," is pegged to the ratification of the Japanese-South Korean treaty, "a serious challenge to the Korean people, the Japanese people, and all other peoples of Asia."

Japan Times and other papers carry a report on a "White Paper" on the Japanese CP compiled by the Public Safety Investigation Agency: one of the conclusions is that the JCP, despite its professed policy of independence, is becoming increasingly subservient to Communist China.

D 22-23: NCNA on the 22nd reports that the Soviet weekly Life Abroad (10-16 December) reprinted "a malicious rumor from the pages of the NYTimes to the effect that China was demanding that the SU pay in dollars the freight charges for transit of its aid supplies to Vietnam."

"This is another instance of the K revisionists going to the extent of joining with the U.S. imperialists to vilify China and to drive a wedge between China and Vietnam...."

NCNA then cites "the facts": since the signing of a protocol on 30 March 1965, "all shipments of Soviet military supplies to Vietnam" have been transited free of charge, while on Soviet economic supplies the Soviet side has "paid the freight charges in rubles in accordance with the provisions of the international agreement on the transportation of goods by railways."

"The Soviet Union itself is well aware of all these facts. The fact that the Soviet weekly Life Abroad reprinted and spread the anti-China slander of U.S. imperialism shows to what depths the K revisionists have degenerated."

Next day People's Daily features a Commentator article on the subject:

"... They (the Soviets) try to portray China as a money-grabber so obsessed with the lust for gain that it would profiteer in a way at the expense of the bloodshed and sacrifices of the Vietnamese people. What motives of theirs! Nothing could be more sinister....

... Since China and the SU are the only two parties involved ... isn't it clear that you and you alone are the source of the rumors spread by the Americans?...

"1. After assuming power, the new leaders of the CPSU saw that the Vietnamese people have won tremendous victories in their anti-U.S. struggle, so they switched from K's policy of disengagement to a policy of involvement and decide to send weapons to Vietnam. Their aim in doing so is to gain the right to have a say, control, and representation on the Vietnam question in the name of aid so as to strike a political deal with the U.S.

2. The SU is duty-bound to aid the Vietnamese.... But so far, a great part of the Soviet military equipment supplied to Vietnam has consisted of obsolete equipment discarded by the Soviet armed forces or damaged weapons cleaned out from the warehouse. These things, both in quantity and quality, are not only far from commensurate with the strength of the SU but also far, far inferior to the aid the SU has given to the Indian reactionaries."

D 23. No. 24 of CPSU journal Partiynaya Zhizn (Party Life) features an article, "Militant Action Program of the Communist Movement," echoing the 12 Dec Pravda editorial.

D 24: Belgrade Radio summarizes an article in Komunist "on the efforts of the Chinese leadership to push the Chinese revolution as a universally valid model for the developing countries."

D 25: A Pravda editorial on the 5th anniversary of the NFLSV includes the charge that

"The aid of the socialist commonwealth to the fighting Vietnamese people could have been even more effective if the CCP leadership, which has begun to carry out a different political course aimed at splitting the ICM, had not given up unity of action in support of Vietnam. The Chinese press has launched a slander campaign in an attempt to discredit Soviet aid to Vietnam...."

East German Party daily Neues Deutschland editorial on the 10th anniversary of the GDR-CPR treaty of friendship and cooperation emphasizes that at this juncture "it is particularly necessary to undertake joint

actions by all socialist countries, to coordinate fraternal aid to the Vietnamese people, to consolidate all anti-imperialist forces...."

D 27: Peking People's Daily editorial, "The United Nations Is an American-Soviet Political Marketplace," calls the 20th Assembly session "an anti-China conference, a conference which willfully interfered in the internal affairs of sovereign states, and a conference for the pursuance of the policy of American-Soviet cooperation for domination of the world." It complained especially that "during the debate on China's representation, Goldberg poured forth a stream of slanders against China. But Soviet delegate Fedorenko spoke perfunctorily for only 12 minutes."

D 28: TASS announces that a Shelepin-led Soviet delegation will go to Hanoi shortly, at the invitation of the Vietnamese Party CC and the DRV Government. As though to balance the Soviet announcement, N. Vietnamese Party daily Nhan Dan devotes much space to an article lauding Chinese support.

D 30: People's Daily editorial, "The Leaders of the CPSU Are Betrayers of the Declaration and the Statement," begins by accusing the CPSU of staging "a short anti-Chinese farce" on the 5th anniversary of the 1960 Moscow meeting by publishing "a batch of articles." (Accompanying, PD reprints the full text of the 12 December Pravda "anti-Chinese article and extracts from 6 others, from Izvestiya on 7th, Red Star 14th, Sovetskaya Rossiya 14th, Komsomolskaya Pravda 14th, Selskaya Zhizn 7th, and New Times No. 50.) It then repeats succinctly previous Chinese accounts of the "intense struggles" between the M-Ls and K revisionists during the drafting of both (the 1957 and 1960) documents, with the CPSU leaders repeatedly requesting "allowances" to connect these formulations with the formulations of the 20th CPSU Congress and the Chinese making "certain concessions" to reach agreement. "Of course, the formulation of certain questions ... is not altogether clear and there are even weaknesses and errors." The K revisionists, however, tore up both documents as scraps of paper on the very day they signed them and followed policies directly opposed." (Charges are spelled out.)

Revealing how the Soviet campaign is hurting, the Chinese cry: "The slogan of 'united action' has now become a poisoned weapon in the hands of the K revisionists for sowing dissension." Then, returning to another old tack;

"By clinging to their revisionism and splittism, the new leaders of the CPSU have placed themselves in direct antagonism to M-L. In such circumstances, can the M-Ls be expected to fail to draw a line of demarcation, both politically and organizationally, between themselves and the new leaders of the CPSU?..."

NCNA Peking NCNA comments on the Moving Forces of the Foreign Policy of the USA, "a book published in the Soviet Union this year which zealously preaches Soviet-American cooperation for world-wide domination and openly

presents the chieftains of U.S. imperialism in a favorable light." It quotes: "Soviet-American relations, relations between the two mightiest powers of the world, are the axis of world politics and the principal basis of international peace," and says that "the book actually calls on all socialist countries to subordinate themselves to Soviet-American cooperation." It also quotes passages which "eulogize Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson -- the chieftains of U.S. imperialism, enemy number one of the people of the world."

Albanian Party daily Zeri I Popullit editorial, "Khrushchevites Aid U.S. Against Vietnamese," is furious diatribe which, inter alia, notes the "striking difference" between the actions of the African states who are "breaking diplomatic relations with British imperialism because of its support for the colonial and racist regime of Rhodesia" and the K revisionists who "have broken relations with the Albanian People's Republic, a socialist country, because the latter is small and does not want to march in step with revisionism" while they "continue to have very cordial relations with American imperialism which is setting fire and shedding blood in socialist Vietnam." It takes off on a new line:

"It is obvious that in slandering the CPR the Soviet revisionists are trying to isolate China and to slow down the aid it is giving to the fraternal Vietnamese people's struggle.

"It would seem that, in an effort to conceal their betrayal, the Soviet revisionists are planning to hold some meeting of socialist country parties soon, with the French and Italian CPs participating, on the subject of the Vietnam war. Their aim and interest is also to attract to this meeting the Vietnam Workers Party and the Korean Workers Party. By this devilish plan, the revisionists are aiming at two birds with one stone: first, to 'prove' that on the subject of the Vietnamese people's struggle there is complete solidarity among all socialist countries, China and Albania excepted; second, that all participants at this meeting stand on the same ideological positions with the exceptions of the CCP and the Albanian Workers Party.

"... It may be said with certainty that this Machiavellian plan by the K revisionists is doomed to failure for the reason that neither the Vietnam Workers Party headed by Comrade Ho Chi Minh nor the Korean Workers Party headed by Comrade Kim Il-song will fall into these traps and vile provocations.... They will submit neither to the pressures nor the perfidious demagoguery of K envoys of the type of A. Shelepin -- who, as reported by TASS, is shortly to visit Hanoi -- who, along with others, is certainly going there to 'convince' the Vietnamese comrades of the 'necessity' and 'importance' of such a meeting to the Vietnamese people's struggle...."

January 1: People's Daily prints a 30 December Voice of Vietnam commentary and a 31 December Hanoi Nhan Dan Commentator article "exposing the U.S. peace intrigue," together with an editorial note which includes a colorful passage, "Monsters and freaks of all descriptions are scurrying hither and thither and raising a lot of dust with their sinister activities," which ostensibly applies to the U.S. emissaries but which some observers see as including the Shelepin mission.

J 2: Speaking on the 7th anniversary of his rise to power, Cuban Premier Castro announces that Communist China would drastically reduce its commerce with Cuba this year, reducing its shipments of rice from 285,000 tons in 1965 to 135,000 tons. Castro somberly adds that Cuba would have to reduce rice rations, because "we have no resources to buy rice in other countries." Press observers commented that Cuba was paying a penalty for her recent rapprochement to the Soviet leadership.

A NYTimes story by Farnsworth Fowle cites an article in the 18 December issue of Sotsialistik Kazakhstan, the Kazakh-language daily in Alma Ata, stating that "the Soviet Union is preparing to double its radio broadcasting potential on its Central Asian frontier with China," making it possible to broadcast 6 news programs simultaneously instead of 3 as at present.

J 3: The Afro-Asian-Latin American "Tri-Continent Conference" opens in Havana, with large Soviet and Chinese delegations in attendance.

J 3 addl: NY Herald Tribune Foreign Editor Seymour Freidin story from London describes the transfer of 5 divisions (60,000 men) of Red Chinese troops from the Tibet-Indian to the Sinkiang-Soviet borders which "started after the hugh Soviet-N. Vietnamese aid deal two weeks ago." The transfer, ignoring any cover, is seen as a demonstration of mobility in the face of the Tashkent meeting to try to settle Pakistan-Indian differences and the Shelepin mission to Hanoi.

J 4: NCNA publicizes an interview with Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi with the Peking correspondent of Japanese CP daily Akahata on 30 December. In response to a question of "the recent turbulent situation in Asia and Africa," Chen thrice denies that China is isolated, adding:

"Although certain individuals in A-A countries have joined the imperialists' anti-Chinese chorus because they have entered into the service of imperialism, and although the modern revisionists are also supporting the anti-Chinese hullabaloo, they are after all a small handful."

The interviewer also brings up "the rumor ... (in) the Western press that China was holding up the transport of Soviet aid material to Vietnam." Chen's answer follows the lines of the 23 December People's Daily Commentator article on subject, though more moderate in tone. (Interview is featured in Peking press on 5th.)

17 January 1966

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THE 23RD CPSU CONGRESS:

Preliminary Guidance

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SITUATION: The CPSU has scheduled its 23rd Party Congress for 29 March 1966 -- in a slight violation of the Party statutes which required it to be held before October 1965, i.e., no more than 4 years after the 22nd.

The 22nd Congress, clearly dominated by Khrushchev, approved a new (the 3rd) Party Program drafted by a Khrushchev-chaired commission, finally replacing the Lenin-attributed 2nd Program adopted by the 8th Congress in 1919. Called "Khrushchev's Blueprint for Communist Conquest" by our staff study of 31 August 1961, this new 3rd Program repeated the musty, obsolete Communist forecasts of the impending doom of capitalism; codified the innovations in theory propounded in Khrushchev's marathon speeches over the years of his ascendancy (different roads to socialism, peaceful transition to socialism, peaceful coexistence, etc.); introduced some highly unorthodox new formulations ("dictatorship of the proletariat" no longer needed in USSR, replaced by "state of the whole people," etc.); outlined in ambitious terms a 20-year project for economic, social and educational development which would set the stage for the transition to full Communism; and closed with the ringing proclamation that: "The present generation of Soviet people will live in Communism."

The positive impact of this document among Communists and at large was considerably reduced, however, by other developments at the Congress, especially the public exposure of the degree of dissension in the World Communist Movement (WCM), and Sino-Soviet tensions in particular, as Khrushchev denounced the Albanians -- bringing angry counter-attacks by the latter and a demonstrative premature departure by Chou En-lai -- and subsequently went on to imply Chinese complicity with the Albanians.

K and others also attacked the Soviet "anti-Party group" (Molotov, Malenkov, et al) and set in motion the official "de-Stalinization campaign," publicly denouncing Stalin for a wide range of crimes far beyond the charges of K's secret speech at the 20th Congress in 1956. Stalin's body was removed from Lenin's company in the mausoleum while the Congress was in session, and K spoke of erecting a monument in honor of his victims. (Chou, before Stalin's body was removed, demonstratively laid a wreath on his grave before departing.)

CPSU leaders and media have said very little about plans for the 23rd Congress thus far, leaving us with the impression that they are holding it only because further postponement would be embarrassing and that they will endeavor to ignore or pass ambiguously over the many highly controversial questions and issues now evident in Soviet domestic and foreign affairs. The only authoritative treatment of the subject to come to our attention to date, an 11 November Pravda editorial "In Anticipation of the 23rd Congress of the Leninist Party," supports such an impression with its bland generalities, such as: "Implementing firmly and consistently the Leninist general line expressed in the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses, in the CPSU Program [heavily Khrushchevite: our note], and developed at the October and November 1964 and March and September 1965 plenums of the CPSU/CC [anti-Khrushchevite], the Party directs its activity toward a single aim -- to make our country even mightier and more flourishing and uninterruptedly to improve the life of the Soviet people."

Perhaps a better clue to future CPSU policies was given by the appearance last fall of the first post-Khrushchev version of CPSU history, the 2nd edition of the KPSS Spravochnik (CPSU Handbook), analyzed in BPG Item #951, referenced below. In it, the Party is wiping out the excesses of the Khrushchev "cult," but not reducing him to an "unperson," and simultaneously retreating from the extreme criticism of Stalin under K. The 3rd Program's grandiose claims and goals for building Communism in the USSR in 20 years are passed over in silence, but there is no criticism of the Program itself, and its principal political formulations are still listed factually. In treating the WCM, the new edition muddies the accurate report of the 1st edition that the 1960 81-party meeting in Moscow had designated "revisionism as the main danger," by making a bland statement on decisive struggle "against revisionism as well as against dogmatism and sectarianism."

As even more recent indication of Soviet intent to slide quietly out of any time schedule for the building of Communism is seen in a 25 November 1965 Sovetskaya Rossiya article by Moscow University Professor of Philosophical Sciences Chesnokov which repeatedly emphasizes that the transition from socialism (the first stage of Communism) to "mature" Communism will be "long and gradual," and "we still have a long way to go." "The gradualness of the transition from socialism to Communism is one of its most important characteristics." [REDACTED]

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The sweeping economic changes being discussed and enacted in the USSR at this time, especially the moves toward decentralization of planning and control and acceptance of the profit motive as the principle determinant of production, can hardly be avoided by the Congress.

The catastrophic failures of Soviet agriculture should also come up for consideration.

The 23rd Congress will also have to confirm or reshuffle the widespread personnel assignments made by the CC since Khrushchev's ouster, and particularly the Podgorny-Shelepin shuffle in December.

Regarding the international aspects, a secret report states that all CPs around the world have been invited to send two representatives to the Congress: on the basis of past performance, it can be expected that at least one of them will be a leading figure. De facto, this would provide for the much-discussed world CP conference: however, it is very likely that not only the Chinese-aligned but also some of the "anti-conference-at-this-time neutralists" (Rumanians, Italians, etc.) would refuse to attend unless assured that the gathering will not be used as a world conference to discuss problems of the movement. There is a strong possibility that the Albanians and Chinese, and perhaps a few others, will not attend in any case.

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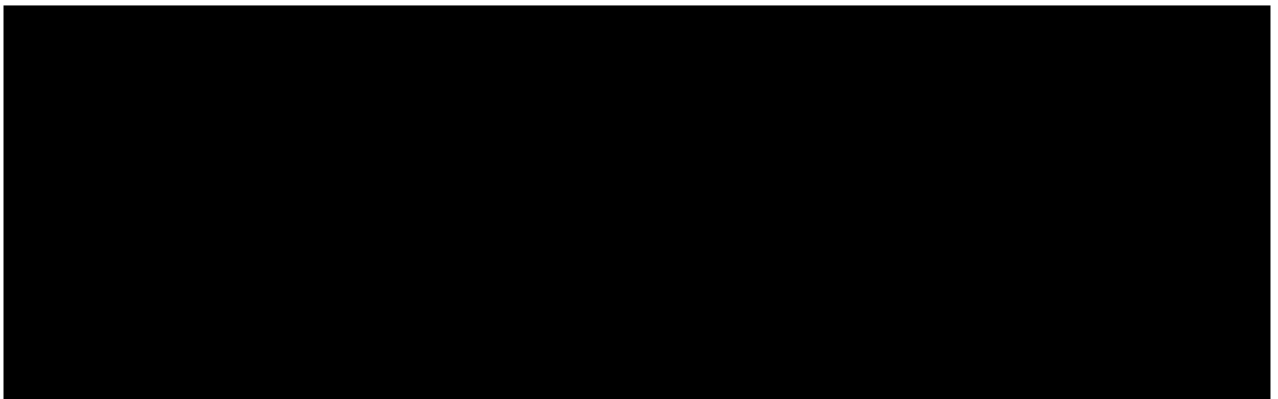
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17 January 1966

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COMMUNISM AND MINORITY PROBLEMS:
TRANSYLVANIA

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* * * * *

SITUATION: Hungarian born Judith Listowel, in an article written for the British periodical The Listener [see attachment for November 4 article], reported on current relations between ethnic groups in Rumanian-held Transylvania. She describes the bitterness between Rumanians and Hungarians she witnessed and notes the harsh discriminatory practices of the Party bureaucracy against the Hungarian minority -- e.g., in distributing jobs and housing, and in reducing Hungarian influence in education.

Ethnic minorities in East European countries have been discriminated against for centuries; each in turn has suffered as boundaries were redrawn and parcels of land taken and retaken. In East Europe during the last quarter of a century, a new element -- communism -- has sharpened ethnic problems and added a note of hypocrisy to the treatment of minority peoples. The power structure of Communist Parties has been used to favor majority group members at the expense of those belonging to the minority and has accentuated the bitterness between groups. This situation is all the more ironic because, as Listowel comments,

"What is not generally realized is that under a communist regime, which preaches equality for all races, the Hungarians still have such bitter grievances."

Transylvania has the largest minority group in East Europe -- 1,588,000 Magyars account for approximately 9% of the total population. This territory was given to Rumania as the result of the dismantling of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after WW I in the Treaty of Trianon. Mussolini backed by Hitler gave the northern half back to Hungary in the Vienna Award of 1940. Then, at the end of WW II, the Soviets restored the Trianon Border to give Rumania control of Transylvania. This Soviet action served to balance the territories which the USSR took from Rumania, namely Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, now comprising the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. In a comparable

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balancing act, Poland looks to the USSR for its main support to retain the German territory (from its prewar border to the Oder-Neisse line) which it acquired (provisionally) after WW II and which offsets eastern Polish territory taken by the Kremlin. In each case, the countries involved are indebted to the USSR for the acquisition of one piece of territory, or are dependent upon the Kremlin for some comparable reason.

The Hungarian uprising in 1956 was reflected in dissidence in Transylvania university circles which culminated in the jailing of Magyars as political prisoners, some of whom presumably still remain in custody. Since July 1965 Rumania has permitted members of minority groups in Transylvania to apply for and receive exit permits -- perhaps to reduce the explosive potential of the discontented Magyar population. While Germany and Israel are apparently welcoming their people, Hungary has not removed obstacles to the return of its ethnic population. Kadar's policy remains as he stated it in Rumania in 1958, namely -- Magyars must turn to Bucharest and not to Budapest for help. Apparently, the Hungarian Communist regime will not willingly give up any claim to Transylvania by encouraging the departure of the Hungarians.

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25X1A2g

INDIA, FAMINE AND COMMUNIST DEMAGOGUERY

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SITUATION: Faced with what could be the most disastrous food crisis in the twentieth century, with the ensuing probability of food riots and extensive civilian unrest and with: a national election in 1967; an unresolved dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir; a fear of further aggression by Communist China and Pakistan; widespread public sentiment that the US and UK failed to support her against Pakistan; and a growing conviction that the Soviet Union is her only true friend -- India is particularly receptive and vulnerable to Soviet influence at this time.*

On the other hand, India's enormous problems provide the Soviet Union a made-to-order propaganda field which the Communists callously exploit. The anti-PL 480 food and "Hate America" campaign now being pushed in India is part and parcel of a continuous long range Soviet effort to solidify its relations with India to the exclusion of the West and of Communist China, to reconcile the divided Communist Party of India, and to gain supremacy in the gravely exacerbated Sino-Soviet dispute.

Parallel Soviet propaganda efforts elsewhere tend to distract international attention from the anti-food imports campaign in India. Nevertheless, this latter campaign is dovetailed with other Soviet propaganda offensives while, ironically enough, the Communist Chinese adapt it to their particular brand of anti-West, anti-Soviet and anti-Indian reactionaries propaganda.

Through its attacks on the PL 480 food program, which President Johnson recently agreed to step up to avert the famine which confronts India, the Soviet Union has for the first time turned foreign aid to avert famine into a propaganda weapon. With the assistance of the vitriolic Indian leftist press and factions of both the pro-Soviet Right (CPI/R) and the pro-Communist Chinese Left (CPI/L) Communist Parties of India, the Soviet Union seeks to convince India (and other developing countries) that western aid is a form of political blackmail. It accuses the US of using "aid with strings" pressure to force India to negotiate (surrender) the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan and to settle the India-Pakistan conflict according to the demands of the "imperialists." It 25X1C10b

plays on resurgent national pride, and the drive for self-sufficiency following India's defense against Pakistan and stand in calling Communist China's bluff of aggression along her borders, to further ruthlessly exploit India's dependence upon US food, warning India that the US intends to use foreign aid to force India into total submission to all "imperialist" desires.

The anti-PL 480 propaganda, as well as other communist attempts to poison the Indian mind against the West and turn it towards the Soviet Union, flared up just about the time the Chinese Communist accusations of collaboration between the Soviet Union and the US became rampant.*

Perhaps in rebuttal of Chinese Communist polemics and surely in connection with them, Indian communists launched the anti-food import theme in the New Age, the CPI/R weekly organ, in early October with an article headlined "American Food Blackmail: To Hell with P.L. 480."

On 25 October, the Blitz National Forum, of the pro-Soviet weekly Blitz publication, put out a 53-page book entitled Freedom from Foreign Food - Pernicious Effects of PL 480, by "an expert on food and agriculture," Dr. Sulekh C. Gupta, with a foreword by N.C. Chatterjee, President of Blitz National Forum. The latter's argument in essence, runs as follows: *the US withholds PL 480 aid to extract political concessions and to checkmate domestic reforms; and US food aid has "disastrous consequences on our own food production."* Then, in a call which would amount to voluntary starvation for multitudes if followed, the author distorts a quotation to say, "Faced with a similar situation, President Nasser asked his people to drink water from the Mediterranean (rather) than fill their bellies with American wheat and surrender their souls. We in this country can do no less."**

The book spells out the Soviet anti-PL 480 line subsequently reflected and enlarged upon in the leftist press, in opposition arguments in Parliament and in Soviet commentary. (See unclassified attachments).

* FYI: The CPSU's appeals to the CCP for "unity of action" within the international movement and against the "aggressive imperialist policy of aggression and war," have all been strongly rebuffed by the CCP. In an exchange of secret letters between the two parties on 18 September and 18 October regarding the Kashmir dispute, the Chinese accuse the Soviet Union of being in collusion with the US and of supporting Indian reactionaries in their extra-territorial claims against China." (See Propagandist's Guide to Communist Dissensions, #68, dated 24 Nov-7 Dec 1965.)

** Nasser, too, is concerned first with feeding his people. On 3 January 1966, formalities were concluded between the US and Egypt to provide PL 480 food to Egypt in the amount of 55 million dollars for a six months period for immediate relief of Egypt's food crisis. Yet there has been no evidence of Communist anti-PL 480 campaigns directed towards Egypt's acceptance of Western food imports.

For example, on 12 November a CPI/R sponsored resolution was defeated in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of Parliament) which stated that "Continued dependence on imports of foodgrains under PL 480 ... is derogatory to our honor and injurious to our economy." In moving the resolution, the CPI/R leader charged that the US was using PL 480 as a political weapon and claimed that the broad spectrum of Indian economists found that continued PL 480 assistance was injurious to the nation's economy. Misrepresenting the operation of the food program, he sought to prove that it was of economic benefit only to the US, and through US accumulation of rupees and provision for US uses, it constituted a grave threat to India.

The same themes were repeated in additional parliamentary debates and media "exposés," and propagandized by Communist front organizations such as the pro-Soviet All India Peace Council which held demonstrations in late November protesting "PL-480 Blackmail," arms aid to Pakistan, and warning "imperialists to keep their hands off Asia and Africa."

Leaders of both the CPI/R and CPI/L seized the anti-PL 480 campaign as a platform upon which the rival communist parties could enthusiastically join, which suggests anti-PL 480 was partially concocted as a mutually satisfactory issue upon which they could unite in response to classified reports that the Soviet leaders have advised the CPI/R to join with other leftist parties, particularly the CPI/L, in a united front against the ruling Congress Party. (See references for background of party policies regarding the Kashmir Problem and Communist China.)

However, only a few Indian leaders have fallen for the communist anti-PL 480 line. Minister of Food Subramanian strongly defended food imports in the Rajya Sabha (Upper House). He denounced CPI/L criticisms of PL-480 and accused the communists of seeking to take political advantage of the nation's present war-born desire to become more self-reliant -- pointing out that the Soviets are themselves not self-sufficient in food and have imported millions of tons of wheat from the US, and that Soviet imports of food were 70 lbs. per capita as against 20 lbs. per capita for India. Subramanian asked why the communists had not called for the end of PL 480 deliveries when India had enjoyed a bumper crop, instead of waiting for the time when the food position was critical.

Even after the exchange of notes 10 December 1965 amending the PL 480 agreement between India and the US to meet India's immediate food needs, communist propaganda against food imports continues unabated.

Soviet propaganda only subtly criticizes the Indian government for its shortsightedness in economic planning, blaming Indian reactionary forces and accusing them of "using the food shortages as a means of pressure on the Indian Government" to achieve a "rightist shift in the country's policy, a reorientation of foreign policy, and closer ties with the United States." Late December commentary from Moscow further ties in the food shortage with Indian reactionary attempts to "torpedo"

the Tashkent meeting between President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Shastri and to discredit the Soviet "mediation mission."

Communist Chinese propagandists exploit the Indian food shortage to condemn both the US and the Soviet Union -- and in addition turn the foreign aid issue towards violent criticism of the Shastri government. A 5 November Peking commentary, "The More US Aid the Smaller the Loaf," ridicules Shastri for his appeal for a voluntary weekly fast, and then states, "this famine shows with bitter proof what Shastri's government has brought to the Indian people through his reliance on US imperialism." Peking continues the attack by noting "there are people who say: 'Don't fight against US imperialism or you will receive no US aid and then there will be no bread for your daily meals.' India's experience shows just the opposite. It shows that the more US aid the smaller the loaf of bread. The Shastri government, acting as a servant of US imperialism, has plunged India into its present miserable plight. This provides the Asian and African people with a vivid lesson in a negative sense. Shastri's call to miss a meal every week only shows that one can eat too much American bread."

In a swipe at the Soviet Union, Peking states, "There are people who say 'The principal task for Afro-Asian countries now is to solve major economic problems, not to fight against US imperialism.' Here again India's experience shows just the opposite. It shows that if you don't fight against imperialism you cannot solve the economic problems..."

Other Communist Chinese propaganda accuses Shastri of "apparently trying to placate the bitter, starving people" by beating the drum for arms expansion in preparation for war against China and Pakistan. He was further accused of "indicating his government's intention of fleecing the Indian people by compelling them to contribute gold for the purchase of gold bonds..." and "whipping up war hysteria" in an attempt "to distract the attention of the disgruntled people."

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17 January 1966

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25X1C106 COMMUNISTS DOMINATE DOMINICAN PARTY

* * * * *

SITUATION: In mid-December 1965 a leading figure of the pro-Castro party, the Movimiento Revolucionario 14 de Junio - MR-1J4 (formerly known as the "Agrupacion Politica 14 de Junio" - APCJ), was expelled by the party for speaking out against certain members of the party's leadership and for criticizing the road the party was taking. This was Luis Genao Espaillat, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the party and a former chief of the Dominican guerrillas who unsuccessfully revolted against the Reid Cabral regime in November 1963. The incident was first reported in an article which appeared in El Caribe of Santo Domingo on 16 December 1965. The following day a second article appeared in which Genao stated his side of the dispute: The major part of the highest leadership of the 14th of June Revolutionary Movement is Communist-directed and it is leading the party down a false path since he himself, having been to Communist China, North Korea, and North Vietnam, could testify that the Communist system in those countries is a complete failure and the people live in misery and under an ugly dictatorship.

The party denied this the next day: For the leadership of the MR-1J4 the statement about China, North Korea, and North Vietnam is an insult to their heroic fights.... The people in those countries have freed themselves from the colonial oppression of imperialism and they go strong and happy in the building of their new life.

Things quieted down again until 28 December 1965 when Genao held a press conference, attended by local and foreign press representatives. The highlights of the conference were:

A. Genao asked the militants of the party to eliminate the Communists and to lead the party on the road which its founder, Manolo Tavarez Justo, wanted. Tavarez was not a Communist but a nationalist.

B. Of the 14th of June leaders, Fidelio Despradel belongs to the Dominican Communist Party, and "Fafa" Taveras, Juan B. Mejia, and Julio de Pena Valdez are members of the Dominican Popular Movement (pro-Chicom).

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C. The 14th of June receives funds from Moscow, Havana, and Peking through the embassies of those countries in Europe. The party sends its delegates to these embassies and they bring back money and propaganda material.

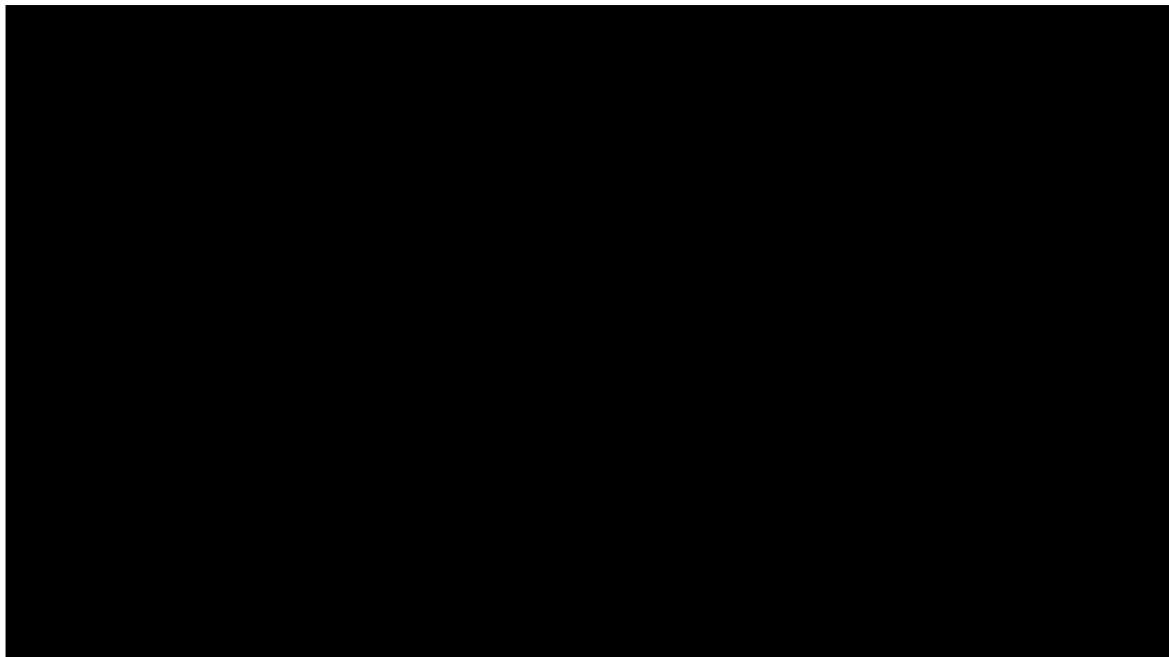
D. The 14th of June opposes the coming Dominican elections because it believes in obtaining power through violence.

E. Genao said he had had interviews in China with Mao Tse-tung; in North Vietnam with Ho Chi-Minh; in Algeria with Ben Bella; and in Cuba with Fidel and Raul Castro, "Che" Guevara, and Camilo Cienfuegos in 1959. He requested aid from all these people and they agreed to give it.

The party's rebuttal to this damning statement came the next day. Its leaders charged that Genao is a CIA agent, that in countries governed by Communist regimes there is progress in social order, politics and economics, Communist China being a good example. They averred that they would support a Marxist-Leninist regime if one came to power in the Dominican Republic; the method by which this might come about was evident from their further statement that holding elections in the Dominican Republic would be foolishness, that the proper climate for elections does not exist. And they said that representative democracy is not the solution to Latin American problems, attacking what they classified as the "false democratic" regimes under which Latin America has suffered.

Photocopies of these newspaper articles will be found as an unclassified attachment, along with English translations, a biographic note on Luis Genao Espallat, and a short summary of these events.

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Castro Explains Cuban Exodus

"... some people ... do not understand why we facilitate the exit of those who wish to leave the nation."

Fidel Castro

Excerpts from Fidel Castro's speech on
the occasion of the seventh anniversary
of the Cuban Revolution -- 2 January 1965

* * * * *

"The fact that the imperialists have had to open their doors which they had closed after the October crisis to those elements, well, this is a result of the policy and action of revolution which they could not resist, because it is certain that they do not take away even the best (of the Cuban people -- ed.). This nation can give itself credit for permitting those who are not satisfied with socialism to leave. There are enough people in this nation and this revolution who are satisfied and have decided to live under socialism. Of course, I do not see that, within a Marxist view, that there exists a pretext which established the obligation of the proletariat and the peasants to feed those who do not work or produce.

"We are not obligated to put up with such displaced elements, many of whom have never worked and are incapable of working, and many of whom are agents of the enemy in the midst of our society.

"Of course, since I have brought up this subject and since there was no previous occasion to discuss any particular question related to it, the situation has arisen that those who have requested permission to leave the country -- and since for example there were cases of gentlemen who in bureaucracy, or, if you wish, in the surplus of administrative employees, had been rationalized and they were being paid the same salary to go to a school to study -- when one of those gentlemen requests permission to leave the country, must we grant that gentleman that right, (presumably Castro means the right to continue to draw a salary -- ed.) something which must truly be granted to a revolutionary?

(Excerpts Cont.)

"Why? If in a school where the children of our workers and our peasants study there is a teacher who requests permission to leave for the United States, is it correct that he continue to teach the children of the workers, of our peasants? There are other cases of the same type.

"Why do I say this? Because some of these gentlemen have had the audacity to try to create a certain emotionalism because many of their contracts have been canceled. Well and good. What is the policy of the revolution? I take advantage of this occasion to clarify it with respect to these gentlemen. First, all who are engaged in nonproductive work producing material goods and who are not necessary for production, or to put it better, who are not necessary for certain services, will have their contracts terminated.

"Now, then, some ask themselves: 'Well, and what thought is being given as to how they are going to live and from what they are going to live?' Well, we must say that it would be a real crime, a real injustice that while nearly 70,000 workers separate themselves from their families for months at a time and go to cut cane, that with the sweat and the work of those workers we have to support crowds of drones who will produce absolutely nothing. That is why the policy of the revolution -- there must be no mistake about this, nobody must allow himself to be confused -- is the following: We have never promoted measures of any type which will impose hunger on anyone -- never, not even with our most recalcitrant enemies.

".... All those who simply decide to leave for the United States, and who because of the type of unproductive, unnecessary work they do have their contracts terminated, may -- if they are in physical condition -- choose to go to work where our workers are working in productive agricultural work, for example, in the sugarcane harvest for example. We will give them work, but another type of work so they can earn their sustenance while producing and not as parasites.

"Those who perform useful work, who participate in the production of material goods or in necessary services, we will maintain them in their jobs, except where they may be in a position where they could do some harm to production. We believe that this is a clear policy to maintain in their jobs those who participate in the production of material goods or in necessary services, except positions which could be called 'strategic' in production. And of course, not even remotely, will a single one be left directing or administering anything at all.

"Now, then, those cases that are not fit for that type of work and do not know how to do any but unproductive or unnecessary work and whose contracts are canceled, those who are in that category, who for reasons of that type cannot do any other work, let them apply to the Interior Ministry, explain their case, and then for humanitarian reasons -- so that there may be no one who can say that he found himself without a solution -- he will be supported until it is his turn to leave the country.

"This means that there will be absolutely no one for whom there is no solution. Now, then, if one of them has to wait a year, or two years, is it our fault when we proposed to the imperialists to send airplanes, if they wanted to, so that 10,000 or 12,000 could leave every month? It is they who have established the quota. It is they who have established limits because, as far as we are concerned, we were in favor of a broad flow. However, if anyone has to wait many months here, let him be grateful for that to his little Yankee friends who are the ones who are to blame.

"If the Yankees want, they can support them, but it will not be our peasant people and our workers who are going to shoulder that load. This is the policy and we accept full responsibility for this policy."

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The Listener
4 November 1965

The case of a minority

By Judith Listowel
on the Hungarians in Transylvania

Soon after I left my native Hungary I was to realize -- even before I had got off the train -- how harsh still is the fate of those Hungarians who live over the Rumanian border. A tall man with haggard features entered our compartment. He sat down opposite the fat woman who had been holding forth about the excellent living conditions in Rumania and stressing how much better they were than in Hungary.

'How do you know?' the newcomer asked.

'I spent two months with my sister in Budapest', the woman said. 'Some days she could get no meat, some days she had to queue even for bread...'

'In Transylvania', the man answered, 'Hungarians have to queue for other things -- such as decent jobs, which seem to be reserved for Rumanians'. At this acid reply, the other occupants of the carriage sat up expectantly.

The fat woman retorted: 'Hungarian chauvinist rubbish, of which we have had enough'.

'Judging by the way you speak the language', the man said, 'I thought you might be a Hungarian yourself -- or are you just a talented Rumanian?' He could not have been more sarcastic.

'What business is it of yours whether I was born of Hungarian or of Rumanian parents?' she answered back. 'I believe it's time that these two peoples learnt to live in peace with each other and joined forces in building a better world for both'.

The man pulled his cap further down over his eyes. 'That's the theory, but can you tell me why most of the workers in the new Transylvania factories are imported from Old Rumania? And why do Rumanians receive the best accommodation, regardless of local needs?'

'More unsubstantiated statements', the woman nearly snarled. 'Rumanians are brought in because locally there are not enough qualified people for the many new jobs we are creating. Good workers deserve good conditions'.

The man's answer was to quote a conversation he had overheard between two Rumanians in front of a list of flats outside the town hall. According to him it went like this:

(The Listener Cont.)

'I wish I could get that flat; at last my family would have a decent roof'.

'And why couldn't you get it?'

'I've only just arrived; I haven't even got my identity card'.

'You've got your diploma and you're a Rumanian, so why shouldn't you get promptly suited?'

The man said he had taken the trouble to find out the sequel and within three days the Rumanian had both a job and the flat he wanted. 'So', the man finished, 'I raised the matter at our next council meeting, for I am a member...'

The woman was furious now. She came back at him: 'I wish my husband had been at your meeting. He would have given you a full answer, and he's a party member too, and a member of our town council'.

It was indeed a remarkable conversation: both the fat woman and the haggard man belonged to the party, and so they dared to speak openly. But good communists though they were, the man felt strongly on behalf of the Hungarians, and the woman defended the Rumanians.

For 900 years these two nationalities have lived side by side in Transylvania. In the old days, the Hungarians were the landowners and the professional men; the Vlachs, as the Rumanians were then called, were the mountain people who tended their goats and reaped their meagre harvests; the Saxons, who were invited in medieval times by the Hungarian kings to settle in the towns, had become the artisan class. But gradually the Vlachs increased in numbers, descended into the valleys, and with the spread of education began to compete for jobs. After 1919, when, as a result of the Treaty of Trianon, Transylvania was given to Rumania, they took over both the state and the county administrations. Overnight they had power and influence.

Between the two wars, when the League of Nations offered some protection to national minorities; Hungarian complaints against the Rumanian Government often figured on the agenda. What is not generally realized is that under a communist regime, which preaches equality for all races, the Hungarians still have such bitter grievances.

While the two communists continued arguing I went out into the corridor to admire the landscape. Transylvania is as beautiful as Wales, with its mountains, turbulent rivers, waterfalls, forests, and slanting fields. Suddenly the man joined me and asked: 'Are you a Hungarian?'

I told him that I had been born in Hungary, but had spent my adult life in England, where I had married and where my family lived.

'Then', he said sadly, 'you don't know what is going on here. No one knows and no one cares. Have you heard what happened to the Hungarian University of Kolozsvár?' (He was using the Hungarian name for Cluj, which has always been the capital of Transylvania.)

I said I knew that it was merged with the new Rumanian University. He asked me if I knew any of the professors. I mentioned a man with a world-wide reputation.

'Talk to him', my companion advised. 'He is in Bucharest now'. He gave me his address. A week later I sat in this professor's study.

A professor's story

'To understand what happened', he told me, 'you must realize that the Hungarian uprising of 1956 had grave repercussions far beyond Hungary's eastern borders'. According to him, Rumania was no exception, and this had greatly worried Gheorghiu-Dej, who was then First Secretary of the party. At this time, the professor said, the party was extremely unpopular, for the workers resented their low wages, and the peasants resented the collectivization of their land. Both were indignant because they had no possibility of protesting. The professor went on to describe how in 1959 Gheorghiu-Dej and his closest advisers, one of whom was Gheorghe Ceausescu, decided to revitalize the party by a three-pronged policy: to arrest all would-be critics and condemn them to long terms of imprisonment, to launch a campaign against the Hungarians which would foster Rumanian nationalist aspirations, and, finally, to make a determined stand against Russian economic demands. That at least would be guaranteed to please everyone.

Dej entrusted the Hungarian minority in Transylvania to Ceausescu, who, the professor told me, went to Cluj, in April 1959, and called a joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Transylvanian Communist Party together with the faculties of the old Hungarian and the new Rumanian universities. It lasted from nine in the morning until four o'clock next morning. Its purpose was to effect a merger of the two universities, which all the Hungarians regarded as a mortal blow to Hungarian culture and traditions. None the less, by means of blatant intimidation the merger was carried through, although the Hungarian pro-rector, Professor Laszlo Szabedy, and five of his colleagues refused to sign. Within a month, all of them, as well as Mrs Szabedy, had committed suicide. All had been party members, Szabedy since 1933.

The effect of seven suicides in a town the size of Guildford can be imagined. The tragedy not only shook the Hungarian population; there was consternation in Bucharest as well. The wholesale dismissal of Hungarian professors and lecturers did not take place.

I spent most of my Transylvanian visit in a small town called Tirgu Mures, where I have relations and friends. In view of Gheorghiu-Dej's three-pronged policy, my friends and relations had suffered both for belonging to the upper classes and also for belonging to the Hungarian minority. At least one member of every family (if not several) was imprisoned or deported to forced labour camps in the Danube Delta, where working conditions were exceptionally bad. In 1959 things became worse: savage sentences were passed on Hungarian 'class-alien' elements, often for no reason at all. One friend of mine got five years for saying that the cost of living had gone up. Not even the judge disputed the fact, but he said that the manner in which she had put it had been defamatory to the state. Almost every family had benefited from the graziere -- the act of clemency, which the Rumanian Government passed in 1964. It was not an amnesty, for that would have meant restitution of jobs and positions, and also financial compensation. None the less, the 1964 graziere meant release from prison for over 10,000 people; many of them were Hungarians.

The situation in Rumania eased up generally in 1964, and the Hungarians in Transylvania found jobs and new openings. Their greatest remaining problem is housing. There is a shortage of accommodation in all Rumanian towns, and naturally this also applies to Transylvania. But the fact remains that former upper- and middle-class Hungarians have been forced to live in cellars and basements under conditions of Rackmanist overcrowding. Last year, in the two basement rooms occupied by my brother-in-law and his wife and three children, the walls were replastered, a parquet floor was laid down and an inside lavatory built by the landlord, that is the state -- for in Rumania as in other east European countries all houses with more than four rooms are state property.

This basement is by no means the worst accommodation I saw in Tirgu Mures. An old friend, once mistress of a lovely house, lives with her two sisters (all three over seventy) and two nephews in one cellar room. The five of them sleep on three divans. I saw a mouse run across the earthen floor, and cockroaches promenade on the cooker and the washstand. The lavatory they use is at a considerable distance. A sixty-seven-year-old relation, with his wife and two sons, lives outside the city, in a house consisting of one room and a kitchen, without electricity or running water. He has to carry water from a well about a quarter of a mile away. Not one of my friends or relations has a bathroom, let alone a telephone.

Under these distressing conditions, living in poverty of a kind we in Britain can no longer conceive, what struck me most about all the Hungarians in Transylvania was their affection for each other, their willingness to share the little they had, and their patience with the young, who do not even have memories of the lovely days of old.

Both in Bucharest and in Budapest responsible persons are avoiding comment about Hungarian grievances in Transylvania. It seems that as a result of the recent visit of the Hungarian Prime Minister, Gyula Kállai, to Rumania their situation may improve. Full national and cultural rights for the minorities is indeed one of the basic tenets of Marxism, and one that has never been openly challenged by the Rumanian Communist Party. Alas, in Transylvania the theory has still not been fully put into practice.

--Home Service

17 January 1966

New York Times
31 October 1965

Assimilation Seen on Rise in Soviet

Brandeis Parley Is Told of Growing Russification

WALTHAM, Mass., Oct. 30 -- Experts on the Soviet Union gathered here this weekend at Brandeis University to discuss the changing patterns of Soviet society.

The conference is devoted to the "state of ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union." The consensus among the scholars from many universities and research centers seemed to be that there was one constant factor in the changes -- increased Russification of politics, culture and language.

Dr. Serewyn Bialer of Columbia University contended that the Soviet Union faces one of its most far-reaching crises of leadership.

"The elite," he said, "seems incapable of producing a single leader of the type of Khrushchev, let alone of Stalin's type. It is beset by divisions and by factional strife which sometimes assumes an ethnic coloring."

Need For Unified Culture

This thesis led another scholar to raise his eyebrows and shrug his shoulders. "Some people still can't adjust themselves to the fact that the Soviet Union is in business and will be around for a long time," he mumbled.

The trend toward Russification, or assimilation, was analyzed by among others, Prof. John A. Armstrong, director of the Russian studies program at the University of Wisconsin.

Professor Armstrong said the elite apparently believed, correctly, "that maximum centralized control and expansion of Soviet power require a unified national culture; that given the numerical and historical predominance of Russians, this culture must be Russian; but that except in special cases the elite is not primarily motivated by Russian ethnocentrism as such."

Professor Armstrong said the Ukrainians, the Byelorussians and the Jews seemed to be among the ethnic minorities "scheduled for Russification."

The Armenians seem to enjoy a privileged position, according to Mary Kilbourne Matossian of the University of Delaware, and have provided most of their local leadership and some of the national leadership and continue to speak and write mainly in the Armenian language. Mrs. Matossian said that traditional fear and hatred of Turkey bound Armenia to the Soviet Union, "and the Communist rulers have therefore treated Armenian nationalists with greater tolerance than the nationalism of any other ethnic group."

Tomorrow's discussion will center on anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and the future of the Jewish minority.

Madness

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With A Method

IN the spectrum of Leftist politics, ranging from Communist to what is called progressive in the ruling party, the campaign against the import of foodgrains from the U.S.A. under PL-480 curiously occupies the centre as far as its operative part is concerned. Indeed, it looks as if the Communists have been calling the tune. It is they who condemn it as derogatory to India's self-respect and damaging to India's position as a non-aligned country especially when issues like Vietnam are concerned.

"We shall rather starve than allow the U.S. imperialists to take away Kashmir from us" has been the most strident slogan in this campaign. As if the U.S.A. were able or willing to make it part of itself. The import of foodgrains from the U.S.A. started some fourteen years ago, not because the Americans imposed it on us but because we could not do without it. Since its inception, India has imported practically without payment about 35 million tonnes of these sorely needed foodgrains. And judging from what the Government of India has said or done on questions the U.S.A. found itself deeply involved in, nobody in honesty could say that the import has in any way impinged on this country's policy of non-alignment much less sovereignty.

That the Leftist-inspired campaign should have reached its climax at a time when India is facing the acutest food shortage since 1943, the fatal year in which Bengal lost a few million lives, would either suggest unparalleled insanity on the part of its organizers or madness with a method.

Here are some of the figures that would show the magnitude of the problem that stares us in the face today. Last year we had a record foodgrains harvest with a total output of 88 million tonnes. Not even the boldest among us can claim that we are in a position to improve upon this record this year. In fact, according to competent observers, the output is going to be substantially lower, thanks to unforeseen circumstances. Meanwhile, our population has gone up by about 20 million.

It is with a view to managing the scarcity, in the words of Food Minister Subramaniam, that eight cities with a population of over one million each are to be put on rationing by next January and there are plans to subject similarly to short commons another 114 cities with a population of over a hundred thousand. But this hardly can by itself be the answer to the problem. This rigorous belt-tightening will still leave us with a deficit of several million tonnes. Assuming this country fell for the slogan of the Communists and their fellow-travellers, she would seriously have to search for an alternative source. Where is this alternative source? Soviet Russia? The less we talk about it the better. For Soviet Russia itself is knocking at the same doors which these frenetic self-appointed upholders of India's dignity and sovereignty would have closed on her.

It may also be noted that those among the developing countries who have fallen for such slogans have only rued the day they did so. The most prominent instance is that of the United Arab Republic. It is by

CPYRGHT

now well known that if the U.A.R. had not been denied food imports from the U.S.A., it would not have to heat a retreat from the Yemen which its armed force had been sent to liberate. President Nasser discovered, perhaps a little too late, that he could either feed his people or maintain a liberation army in the Yemen. As a wise man he chose the lesser evil. It is therefore not impermissible to believe that those who advocate India's breaking loose from what is called dependence on U.S. foodgrains are in fact a-king for the weakening of India's armed strength as well. No army can for long stay on the battlefield when hunger stalks its rear.

We feel driven to the conclusion that the Communists at least are not insane in their advocacy if we know what their real objective is. Theirs is madness with a method as we have hinted earlier. They apparently hope that famine and starvation would lead to widespread disaffection in this country, not excluding her armed forces, and bring about the breakdown of administration, a classic precondition in the textbooks of Communism to bring about seizure of power.

It is surprising that the rulers of Soviet Russia, from whom these Communists receive their guidance and intellectual nourishment, should allow such a course when they themselves are feeling compelled to see the advantages of peace and stability in this subcontinent. It is doubtful if the Communists here, a detachment of world Communism as directed from Moscow, would be launching upon such manifest irresponsibility without encouragement from them. Are we then to assume that they too look upon disaffection and disintegration as part of their over-all aim in India? Some of the writings in their party press do suggest that they are

Here we may utter a word of warning to the Russians themselves. If they have not learnt one lesson from history, they never will. The lesson is that disaffection and breakdown of administration in a country do not necessarily make for a revolution. Indeed, since the dynamics of a counter-revolution is not different from that of a revolution, except in direction, the campaign against India's search for means to feed her people, if successful, may create the logistics of a socio-political upturn, but it may be an upturn least likely to be relished by them. Already the danger of what they would call fascism, even if incipient, is discernible. Woe betide those who seek to cut their nose to spite their face.

Year of the Famine — India Turns to U.S.

By J. ANTHONY LUKAS

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, Dec. 11—An opposition legislator told India's Parliament the other day that farmers in his drought-stricken state of Andhra were selling their children. He was immediately denounced by a member of the ruling Congress party for spreading "panic" about the country's food situation.

Whether the report is true or not, there can be little doubt that India now faces one of its most severe famines of the century.

The famine is owing in large part to the drought which has destroyed or damaged crops in many states during the past few months. The southwest monsoon, which normally drenches most of the country between July and September, was little more than a trickle in many areas and failed altogether in some. This has produced a drought which the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, in a recent report, termed "a natural calamity of a magnitude unknown in recent times."

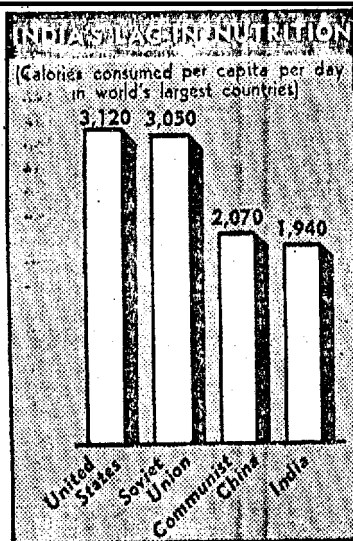
It is still difficult to estimate just how severe the crisis is. The kharif (or winter food grains) crop is harvested in January and the state governments are only guessing now about what kind of harvest they can expect. It is even harder to predict the size of the rabi (spring) crop. The lack of rain has prevented sowing for the rabi crop in some areas and this could sharply affect the harvest.

At present, the Government believes that it will need 10 million to 14 million tons of imported wheat and rice to supplement a domestic crop that will not exceed 80 million tons, and may be somewhat less.

Last year, India imported about 8 million tons of food grains (most of it under the American "food for peace" program) to supplement a record crop of about 88 million tons. Earlier this year, Indian officials were predicting another record crop. Today, they emphasize that it was the drought alone that dashed their hopes for a bumper year.

"We could have turned the corner this year," one official said this week. "All that stopped us was the vagaries of nature."

However, other observers here are not willing to accept the Indian position quite at face value. Anyone who has seen the wheat withering in the fields will readily concede that the drought has been a devastating blow to Indian agriculture this year.



Weather a Factor

If the rains had been normal, India might well have had another record crop this year. However, this does not mean that the country would have "turned the corner" in food production or even have come close to feeding all its people from its own resources. For, until very recently India had not even faced up to the hard decisions that must be taken before the country can reach self-sufficiency.

At the start of each five-year plan, politicians have predicted that India would be feeding herself by the end of the plan. But when the five years were over, the country was still far short of her goal.

Part of the explanation is India's runaway birth rate. Even as production rises—and it has risen from 78 million tons of food grains in 1962 to 88 million tons last year—the population rises at a rate as fast or faster. The current population is estimated at 437 million and is increasing by 11 million a year.

However, the problem goes far deeper than that. In past years, India has tended to rely chiefly on rhetoric and the U.S. "food for peace" program rather than take badly needed steps to increase production.

Perhaps the step most urgently needed is an increased use of chemical fertilizers. Until recently, India's farmers resisted the chemicals because they believed the fertilizers damaged the soil. However, as they have been shown

how the chemicals could boost production, this resistance has slowly melted away and demand has sharply increased.

Nevertheless, there is still no sense of urgency about the problem in the Cabinet. The Finance Ministry is stingy about releasing foreign exchange for fertilizers and the Government has not taken measures to encourage badly needed foreign investment in the field.

One exasperated American, who has long been working in the field, said recently, "If the Cabinet would only see that fertilizers are as important for agriculture as bullets are for the Army the country might start making some real progress."

Though fertilizers are probably the key, there are several other critical problems which have not received the attention they deserve.

For one, insects and rodents consume a frightening chunk (variously estimated at between 5 per cent and 15 per cent) of the annual crop. This problem can be met only through far wider use of insecticides and better storage techniques.

Another problem is that although canals and irrigation projects now interlace the country, much of the water is still not getting where it should. This is partly because of a chronic lack of coordination between the Ministry of Irrigation and Power and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

It was primarily because of these chronic problems that the United States last summer refused to sign the regular annual "food for peace" agreement.

By doling the wheat and rice out on a month-by-month basis, Washington hoped to force India to stop using it as a "crutch" and take some of the hard and long-needed decisions.

President Johnson eased this policy somewhat Thursday when he granted 1.5 million tons of wheat and rice to meet the emergency.

This move is designed, among other things, to create a better climate for Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's trip to Washington, now scheduled for February. It also apparently reflects a feeling that India is at last beginning to face up to some of the hard decisions needed to increase food production.

The Soviet Bid for India

EDMOND TAYLOR

NEW DELHI

"WASHINGTON officials who think that the Soviet Union and the United States have virtually the same interests in Southern Asia couldn't be more wrong." The speaker was one of the relatively rare Indians who are both anti-Russian and anti-Chinese. "It's complete poppycock to say that they want peace and stability in this part of the world as much as the United States does. What the Russians have always wanted is India. They've been watching and studying India for years, slowly building up their political bases here, developing a pool of trained experts and operators. The West doesn't realize it yet, but the Soviets in India have become a grave menace. China may be a military threat to the country, but internally the Chinese don't count; they are too clumsy, too doctrinaire. The Russians are the real danger. They've learned something from their past mistakes and they're catching up fast. The Moscow-controlled front organizations in India are much more formidable: the labor unions, peasant associations, youth groups, peace councils, Afro-Asian committees, and friendship societies. Then there is the press: the Communist press, the crypto press, and the remote-controlled press. Above all there are the fellow travelers and the Soviet sympathizers in Indian politics. Unless you live here you can scarcely imagine the extent of the Soviet penetration into Indian society."

Though my informant backed up his sweeping generalizations with a good deal of hard fact, I was a bit nonplused. Since arriving in India last September I had several times heard knowledgeable Americans here refer to India's growing awareness of the Chinese threat in Southeast Asia, and I knew that Ambassador Chester Bowles had a euphoric vision—publicly reflected in a recent letter from

him to Representative Clarence D. Long of the House Appropriations Committee—of a developing Indian-American co-operation in the region to block Chinese expansionism, presumably with the tacit blessing of the Soviet Union in a kind of diplomatic *ménage à trois*.

Certainly, the sincerity of my informant—perhaps it will make him seem a little less ghostly if I call him R.—was unquestionable. I knew, too, that his qualifications were impressive. R. has studied and fought Communist threats of all kinds in India for many years; it is an understatement to say that he has the opportunity to observe it at close range. He is particularly well acquainted with the press and labor fields. Unlike many Indians, R. plainly had a mind schooled in objectivity as well as in logic. On the other hand, the characteristic dogmatism of the anti-Communist activist seemed evident in some of his attitudes. Few Indians, moreover, can resist the temptation to scare the pants off any American they get hold of these days in a kind of friendly and often unconscious political blackmail. But the more I have investigated matters here, the more I have become convinced that both the scale and the orientation of Soviet political warfare in India are as ominous as R. indicated.

Chapter and Verse

The Soviet intent to poison the Indian mind against the United States is easily established by statements in the Soviet press itself, not to mention the utterances of local Communists or notorious fellow travelers. A Press Trust of India dispatch from Moscow reported on October 13: "The Soviet political weekly *New Times*, in an article published in its latest issue, has said that the Anglo-American powers had complicated the Kashmir

situation by 'intrigues' aimed at detaching the state from India and making it their 'puppet.' The three-thousand-word article said the United States had been trying since the first invasion by 'raiders led by the U.S. intelligence agent Russell Haight' in 1947 to make Kashmir as strong a military base as Okinawa."

The *New Times* article was prominently featured even in Indian newspapers favorable to the United States. Leftist publications, like the important Delhi daily the *Patriot*, a member of a publishing chain politically associated with former Defense Minister V. K. Krishna Menon, naturally lapped it up. Communist and fellow-traveling editors and politicians throughout the country embroidered on the theme of America's sinister designs on Kashmir. According to a report in the *Times of India*, Bhupesh Gupta, a Communist member of Parliament and members of the pro-Soviet Communist Party of India's central executive committee, declared in Patna on October 17: "Britain and the U.S. have been conspiring to grab Kashmir ever since independence." At a press conference in Hyderabad on the same day, M. N. Govindan Nair, a key member of the CPI's central secretariat, attacked the left-wing (pro-Chinese) Communist stand on Kashmir because on this issue "the U.S. imperialists and China find themselves together." Fortunately, Nair explained, the Pakistani aggression in Kashmir had brought to the foreground the Indian people's "anti-imperialist and pro-Soviet feelings." On October 19 Krishna Menon, speaking at Lucknow, said, according to a special correspondent of the *Patriot*, that "The hand of the western powers was clearly discernible in Kashmir." Earlier in the day, Menon delivered an unreported speech to students of Lucknow University. By an interesting coincidence, a group

of students thereupon staged a turbulent demonstration in front of the British Council library—which they tried to burn down the following day—and a less rowdy one in front of the usis library in the city, featuring slogans like "Down With Anglo-American Imperialism" and "Down With Lyndon Johnson and Harold Wilson."

Toward the end of October, the Communist Hate America campaign became even more vicious, in an evident attempt to sabotage the trip to Washington by Prime Minister Shastri, which pro-western elements in India have been working hard to promote. "The blood of our brave soldiers, shed to defend the country's integrity, is still fresh and wet on President Johnson's hands," Communist leaders Achutha Menon and Govindan Nair declared at a public meeting in Trivandrum on October 28. "Shastri must not go!" is the title of a vitriolic editorial in the October 30 issue of *Blitz*. About the same time the left-wing press started putting greater stress on a theme launched earlier by *New Age*, the CPI's weekly organ: "AMERICAN FOOD BLACKMAIL; TO HELL WITH THIS P.L. 480!"

EVEN some Indian politicians who are or have been in positions of highest authority have helped spread the Communist-inspired theme that the United States had its eye on Kashmir. In a public meeting in New Delhi presided over by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian Minister of Information—and likewise attended by the ubiquitous Krishna Menon, who delivered an impromptu speech by popular demand—G. M. Sadiq, the Chief Minister of Kashmir-Jammu State, declared, if he was correctly quoted by the admiring *Patriot*, that "Behind it all [the trouble in Kashmir] were the British and Americans who were trying to 'persuade' India into surrendering a portion of its territory to Pakistan so that their aim of making Kashmir a military base could be achieved." The fact that Sadiq's speech was made on October 12, a day before the Moscow correspondents filed their summaries

of the *New Times* article, makes it hard to tell whether he was plagiarizing Moscow or vice versa; in any event they seemed to be on the same thought wave.

Another Soviet comment on the Kashmir issue was reported by PTI from Moscow on October 28 and published in the *Patriot* among other organs here. The comment was signed by S. Mikoyan, son of Anastas Mikoyan, and it appeared in the authoritative *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. The U.S. government, Mikoyan charged, had armed Pakistan so as to blackmail India into joining its military alliance.

The Soviet-inspired Hate America drive is reported to be particularly intensive in West Bengal and in the south. "A well-planned campaign to swing public opinion against the American 'imperialists' has started in the Communist and pro-Communist press and from public platforms," a special correspondent of the conservative weekly *Current* reported early in October from Kerala. "Communist agents are working overtime to influence the thinking of all men who matter in public life. The Right [pro-Soviet] Communists appear to be more earnest about this than their Left counterparts. According to observers of Communist tactics, this is part of a country-wide long-range plan to turn India against America and to make it lean more and more towards the Soviet Union."

Among the Communist agents in the south who have been working overtime to incite opinion leaders against the United States is said to be the Soviet consul in Madras, though normally Soviet political-warfare operatives with diplomatic cover in India do not expose themselves so blatantly in attacking nations with which India maintains friendly relations.

Naturally, the Soviet political-warfare strategists and the Indian agents or allies stress whenever possible the contrast between the perfidious American attitude on the Kashmir question and the Soviet Union's wholehearted, disinterested support of the Indian position. As a corollary, Moscow goes out of its way to throw cold

water—at least in India—on the favorite Washington pipe dream of the two great superpowers working hand in hand through the U.N. to bring peace back to this troubled subcontinent. "In recent weeks," the *Patriot* correspondent reported from Moscow on October 9, "Soviet commentators have been seeking to dispel the impression given by western propaganda that the interests of the Soviet Union and the West were identical as far as Indo-Pakistan problems were concerned. There may be a confluence of interest in securing a cease-fire, but the two sides desire peace for entirely different reasons."

In an article entitled "Pressure, Blackmail, Lies," the weekly *Link*, a stablemate of the *Patriot* and a left-wing anti-American imitation of *Time*, exposed an alleged attempt of Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg to make India's U.N. delegate swallow a proposal for a joint U.S.-Soviet mediation in the dispute with Pakistan as a maneuver to head off the Soviet suggestion of a meeting between Prime Ministers Shastri and Ayub Khan under Soviet auspices in Tashkent. The U.S. maneuver was foiled, *Link* gleefully reported, because "The Soviet Union has assured India it will not agree to collaborate with the U.S.A. outside the Security Council, where it would be deprived of the use of veto in India's support. . . ." The Soviet leadership, according to *Link*, "has also refuted the theory propounded by U.S. spokesmen and their supporters in India and elsewhere that the Soviet Union was collaborating with the U.S.A. for the restoration of peace between India and Pakistan."

Blitz-krieg

The sensational left-wing Bombay weekly *Blitz* revealed that the "insidious campaign that the Soviet Union and the United States are constituting a two-man tribunal to adjudge the politics of the Kashmir problem" disturbs Soviet diplomats in India, and so do the efforts of the "U.S. lobby" here to lure Shastri to Washington. "Naturally all these moves are watched with a certain amount

of suspicion in Soviet diplomatic circles here," *Blitz's* New Delhi correspondent reported. "In friendly gatherings they don't make any bones about how they were let down by New Delhi when we reopened the Kashmir issue in the wake of the Chinese invasion under the relentless pressure of Averell Harriman and Duncan Sandys. Another such piece of folly is bound to cost India dearly over Kashmir."

What *Blitz*, long notorious for its rabid anti-Americanism, prints about the United States is seldom taken seriously by well-informed Indians, though the weekly is widely read. But it is well placed to know what "Soviet diplomatic circles" are thinking, or at least they want the public to believe they are thinking. *Blitz's* prosperity is based in no small degree on the large number of copies that the Soviet embassy regularly purchases for dispatch to hypothetical readers in the Soviet Union.

Soviet diplomats, like most others, give background briefings to friendly Indian correspondents, pass on an occasional "news tip" as a favor, or simply commit calculated indiscretions at cocktail parties or during informal luncheons. Sometimes a knowing smile, a shrug, or a studied silence suffices.

The techniques are classic; the striking things about the way the Soviet diplomats use them in India are, first, the adroitness with which they employ friendly or simply naïve Indian politicians and officials, or "nonaligned" brother diplomats as their transmitters to reach outlets that might be closed to identified Soviet sources; second, the extreme virulence of the innocent-looking little drops of poison that the Soviets thus inject almost imperceptibly into the Indian public mind. For the end product of this subtle intoxication most of the time is an Indian public statement of some kind that distorts western actions, policies, or intentions in such a way as to arouse hostility and distrust in the Indian reader or listener.

The statement may be a vague but venomous news item in the *Patriot* reporting that unspecified Indian circles are worried about a mysterious American, unidentified except

as being probably a CIA agent, who has been taking prominent citizens of Calcutta out to lunch and indulging in other anti-Indian activities; it may be an indignant paragraph in a normally pro-western newspaper about the anti-Indian bias of a British correspondent as revealed by dispatches that he never wrote and that his paper did not publish; it may be a senior minister of the Indian government affirming publicly that the United States "had never given up its stand that Kashmir should go to Pakistan," while the Soviet Union had always supported India on the issue." (Information Minister Indira Gandhi, speaking in Barmer on October 20, according to the reputable *Statesman*.)

Delivering the Goods

Like all good political-warfare strategists, the Soviets know that propaganda and subversion, unsupported by political, economic, or military acts, cannot achieve results of lasting importance. To attain the ultimate objective of isolating India from the West and aligning it with the Soviet bloc, Moscow has to give New Delhi a certain amount of tangible support—beyond whatever support the United States might be willing to accord—in the conflict with Pakistan, a major Indian preoccupation for years which is today, understandably, an Indian obsession. At the same time, the Kremlin strategists, like those in Washington, would like to detach Pakistan from China and in any case to avoid permanently alienating Pakistan.

Moreover—so at least many western Sovietologists believe—the Soviet Union dreads the possibility of serious fighting breaking out again on the subcontinent, dangerously close to its Central Asian frontiers. Certainly to preserve their image as champions of peace the Soviets have to appear sincerely distressed at the possibility of renewed fighting. Finally, in wooing India the Soviet Union must avoid aid commitments that might overtax its own shaky economy.

On the face of things, the Indo-Pakistan conflict seems to confront Soviet policymakers with even

tougher problems than those Washington faces. Somehow the Soviets have managed to steer an artful course—between the diverse policy reefs in their way and to keep on making real if modest progress toward their seemingly contradictory goals. This may be because they have not become as deeply committed to—or entangled in—the U.N. as we have, and use it for their own carefully planned ends. They voted in the Security Council for the cease-fire, thus getting on the record for peace, but unlike the United States they never ostentatiously suspended military or economic aid to India during the fighting. (How much has actually arrived is the subject of contradictory estimates in different western embassies here, and it is not impossible that Moscow held up or slowed down some deliveries to make India accept the cease-fire.)

A few days after hostilities erupted, the Soviet Union signed an accord to deliver four submarines to the Indian Navy. Whereas the United States has suspended long-term economic aid to both countries—except food or items already in the pipeline—making both feel they are being blackmailed by us, the Soviet Union has continued economic aid to Pakistan as well as to India without offending either side. True, the Soviet aid is still largely on paper, and at most it amounts to only a fraction of the sizable trickle that is still flowing to both countries through the U.S. aid pipeline, but few Indians and no doubt few Pakistanis realize this.

ON THE broader peace front, Moscow has laid the foundations for an eventual settlement of the India-Pakistan conflict—if any settlement is possible—outside the United Nations and western influence, through the proposal for bilateral talks in Tashkent. Opinion differs as to how seriously the Soviets are really trying to push the idea. In any event the Indian Communist Party official weekly *New Age*, while hailing the heroism of India's soldiers and the justice of the national cause, had recently advocated some Indian initiative for a Kashmir settlement with Pakistan—outside the U.N., of course.

At the same time, by giving Indians the impression that the Soviet Union is solidly supporting them on the Kashmir issue, the Kremlin is constantly stiffening the intransigence of the Indian nationalists of both Right and Left, and thereby contributing to make a permanent settlement of the conflict more remote.

Moscow, while it may not want to see the cold war between India and Pakistan turn hot again, is in no hurry to end it. And if the situation threatens to get out of hand—as it well may—there is always the United States to take the onus for enforcing a new cease-fire on the two belligerents.

The extent to which even sophisticated Indians are taken in by Soviet cajolery was demonstrated by a noted political commentator who assured me that when Soviet Ambassador I. Benediktov, following his return from sick leave in Moscow, called last month on Prime Minister Shastri, he pledged the Soviet Union's full support to India "in all circumstances." Obviously no ambassador, least of all a Soviet ambassador, is likely to promise full support in all circumstances to anyone, but the fact that such stories are believed by Indians who should know better is significant.

MERE diplomatic and propagandistic sleight of hand could hardly achieve the psychological results that the Soviets are achieving here. They are achieving them mainly because they give the impression that when they are finally obliged by circumstances to take a clear-cut stand it will be on India's side, and they are able to put that impression over because it probably is the truth.

Perhaps the most symbolic as well as effective encouragement that the Soviet Union has yet given to Indian national aspirations was the signing of an accord in New Delhi on October 26 whereby the Soviet government agreed to supply India on economically advantageous terms with two 500-kilowatt radio transmitters. The transmitters will be erected with Soviet technical help as soon as possible on a site already selected in West Bengal. "It gives the Soviet Union special pleasure," said

a counselor of the Soviet embassy here, "to know that it will enable the voice of the Indian people to resound still stronger throughout the world." Judging from the proposed site for the new transmitters and their power, western technicians believe that they will be used to project the peaceful voice of India throughout all South-east Asia; to eastern Tibet, where the main guerrilla activity is going on; and above all to East Pakistan, whose inhabitants are already kept informed by existing Indian facilities about the activities of a somewhat shadowy "East Bengal Revolutionary Council" that is allegedly trying to free the land from the domination of the West Pakistan "warlords."

The Gray and the Black

The existing Soviet propaganda apparatus in India is formidable both for its size and because of the skill with which it is now being used. The official fortnightly publication *Soviet Land*, distributed by the cultural department of the Soviet embassy, has the largest circulation of any magazine in India—somewhere around half a million. More important, it is published in thirteen Indian languages as well as in English. The Soviets likewise maintain the equivalent of our usis libraries throughout India, with varied cultural activities based upon them. There is a vast Soviet student-exchange program, and India is also covered with a network of 172 local branches of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, popularly known as Iscus, which is estimated to have some seventeen thousand members.

Altogether, it is estimated that the Soviet Union spends about \$10 million a year on propaganda activities in India (as against a U.S. expenditure of \$5 million), not counting radio programs from the Soviet Union—which like the Voice of America programs do not have many listeners here—or the more hush-hush varieties of "black" propaganda, but taking into account some semi-clandestine or "gray" operations. The "gray" band of Soviet-manipulated propaganda outlets is unusually large in India, and plays a fairly important role. The daily or weekly

have large circulations—except for *Blitz*—but they are extremely numerous, appearing in many languages and blanketing almost the whole country—more important in India than mass circulation. Often they are organized in chains, thus facilitating centralized control. Many of the papers in question have a largely middle-class readership, and to appeal to it they stress nationalist and anti-western rather than leftist themes.

Soviet funds reach the "gray" press through various indirect means. One of the most frequently employed is simply to give a pro-Soviet or potentially pro-Soviet publication advertisements for the export products of various Soviet-orbit nations, or for their airlines and tourist departments. The ads are generally placed by agencies under camouflaged Soviet control specially set up for this purpose. Another form of help consists in supplying them free editorial copy, written from the desired Soviet slant. The feature agencies specializing in this service are run by Soviet agents but are staffed mainly by unemployed Indian journalists who are thus drawn into the Soviet net. Some free copy is sent even to theoretically anti-Communist publications and, since it is not always closely scrutinized, may be gratefully accepted.

On occasion the Soviets commission articles on specified subjects directly from Indian writers who then sell them to the editors with whom they normally deal. Some measure of indirect influence is likewise exercised on completely respectable Indian newspapers through clandestine Communist cells among their personnel. For some years, however, the Soviet political-warfare apparatus here has tended to rely largely on Indian agents or sympathizers of various types ultimately controlled from the Soviet embassy rather than by the local party hierarchy.

Most of the numerous front organizations in India are likewise manipulated by direct Soviet agents. Like the Indian Communist Party itself, they suffered a period of dwindling influence owing first to the psychological impact of the Chinese attack on India in 1962, then to the splits provoked by the Sino-Soviet

CPYRGHT

quarrel. Since the conflict with Pakistan became acute last summer, the pro-Soviet front organizations—not the pro-Chinese ones, of course—have regained much of their former influence by participating in the national war effort. Their anti-Chinese and anti-Pakistani zeal has often been impressive, and in this context many Indians have seen their Hate America campaigns as, at worst, merely misguided patriotism.

All in all, while it cannot be proved that Soviet policies in Southern Asia—particularly in India itself—are a graver long-term threat to U.S. national interests than even the Chinese, the possibility seems to deserve more consideration than it has yet had from U.S. policymakers. It would at least help a little if we made it clearer to the Indians that they are mistaken if they assume that we look on the Soviets as allies in Southern Asia. Perhaps one way of driving home the point would be to protest more firmly and often against the most flagrant abuses of India's hospitality and of diplomatic usage committed by Soviet diplomatic personnel here in their attempts to drive a wedge between India and the United States.

17 January 1966

EXCERPTS FROM COMMUNIST MEDIA
EXPLOITATION OF FOOD SHORTAGE IN INDIA

Peking in English to Southeast Asia 5 November 1965

["The more U.S. aid the smaller the loaf"]

(Text) India is facing its most acute food shortage. Prime Minister Shastri has come up with the bright idea of calling on all Indians to miss a meal every week. According to AP, he is expected to issue a nationwide appeal asking those who can afford to skip cereals to do so. Of course, if everyone in India misses a meal every week, it will save a considerable amount of grain. In fact, if people go entirely without grain there is no doubt that the shortage of cereals would be solved.

Shastri himself has decided not to dine on Mondays, starting 1 November. The Indian Prime Minister can fulfill his pledge since his meals during the rest of the week are quite secure. But for the broad masses of the Indian people, the food ration issued every day weighs only six ounces.

Their immediate problem is not how to miss a meal every week but how to fill their stomachs every day. Indian sources have disclosed that about three-fourths of the populace is hungry and 4 million people starve to death every year. Shastri's call is a piece of bitter (word indistinct), and this famine shows with bitter proof what Shastri's government has brought to the Indian people through his reliance on U.S. imperialism.

India is a country which receives a large amount of U.S. aid. Every year it imports some 10 million tons of grain from the United States. It has now reached the stage where it cannot subsist for even a month without U.S. surplus grain. There are people who say: "Don't fight against U.S. imperialism or you will receive no U.S. aid and then there will be no bread for your daily meals." India's experience shows just the opposite. It shows that the more U.S. aid the smaller the loaf of bread.

There are people who say: "The principle task for Afro-Asian countries now is to solve their economic problems, not to fight against U.S. imperialism." Here again India's experience shows just the opposite. It shows that if you don't fight against U.S. imperialism, you cannot solve the economic problems and (several words indistinct).

The Shastri government, acting as a servant of U.S. imperialism, has plunged India into its present miserable plight. This provides the Asian and African people with a vivid lesson in a negative sense. Shastri's call to miss a meal every week only shows that one can eat too much American bread.

* * * * *

(Cont.)

Peking NCNA International Service

["Shastri Makes War Outcries at CPR, Pakistan"]

Peking, 22 November--Indian Prime Minister L.B. Shastri vilified China and Pakistan as bellicose in his speeches made over the past few days in an attempt to distract the attention of the disgruntled people at home and speed up India's arms expansion in preparation for war, according to reports from New Delhi.

INDIAN INFORMATION SERVICE reported that Shastri yesterday accused China and Pakistan of "believing in war and conflagration."

Beating the drum for arms expansion in preparation for war, he said: "All our efforts should therefore be directed to strengthening our defense and our economy to meet any eventuality."

Apparently trying to placate the bitter, starving people at home, he said, "More food and more ammunition should be our aim." But he called upon students only to help strengthen "the country's defense measures." Urging them to help the government to fleece the people, he said, "Students should spare some of their time in approaching people to subscribe to gold and defense bonds and small savings schemes."

The Indian paper TRIBUNE in a recent report disclosed the real reason for Shastri's war outcries against China and Pakistan. The paper said that "What Shastri is afraid of is that" the attacks on his domestic and foreign policies which have grown since India's aggression against Pakistan "may distract the country's attention and weaken its resolve to make a mighty effort toward" arms expansion in preparation for war. The same paper said that the Shastri government "wants the country to keep up and even accelerate the tempo of the defense effort" and so there is "the vital need for making a success of the gold bonds scheme, defense loans and savings and of the procurement and rationing of food."

* * * * *

Peking NCNA International Service

["Indian officials admit food outlook 'gloomy'"]

7 December--By doubling the estimate of the food shortage in less than a month, Indian official sources give a gloomy picture of the country's food situation, according to a New Delhi report.

In early November Indian Food and Agriculture Minister C. Subramaniam estimated the foodgrain shortage at 3 million tons. An Indian Government White Paper released at the end of the month was quoted by a Western news agency as saying that "tentative estimates are that India's foodgrain shortage will be at least 6 or 7 tons." But an unofficial source put it at 15 million tons.

The INDIAN EXPRESS in its 3 December editorial said, "There is reason to fear that the kharif (autumn crop) itself will be 8 million tons less than what it was last year. To make matters worse, the rabi (spring crop) prospects are also gloomy." It said, "Even with an output of 88 million tons last year, there was a deficit millions of tons which was covered by PL-480 (a U.S. law for dumping sales of "surplus" agricultural products abroad) supplies from the United States. When allowance is made for the increase in population, the real deficit will be in the neighborhood of 15 million tons."

The Indian paper STATESMAN reported that Subramaniam told Parliament that to deal with the critical food situation he considered the only hope to be the U.S. foodgrain handout under PL-480. He hoped that "massive assistance" would be forthcoming so that a calamity could be averted.

The HINDUSTAN TIMES reported that "his (Subramaniam's) plea that the famine conditions had resulted from drought and not from any failure on the agriculture front was not acceptable even to the Congress members ... opposition members insisted that the present situation was a result of the wrong policies pursued during the past 18 years."

17 January 1966

Link

26 December 1965

Foreign Aid

The US Embassy in India last week brought out a 40-page pamphlet entitled "India's Development and Economic Aid", devoted mainly to the part played by the US in India's economic development. US benevolence came out in glowing colours but Soviet aid, based mainly on trade, was given cursory mention as part of total aid received by India. The pamphlet did not consider it necessary to stress that the share of the US Embassy in PL-480 counterpart funds, beginning with 5 per cent has steadily increased till it is around 15 per cent of the total at present. But the important thing, however, is that the pamphlet made no mention of the US pledge of assistance for the fifth year of India's Third Five Year Plan made at the Aid India Consortium meeting last April. Not one dollar out of the 435 million dollars committed at the meeting has yet been formally signed. It is still uncertain whether the 50-million dollar loan offered by President Johnson for purchase of fertilizers will be made a part of this commitment.

Hasty commitments and formal agreements were concluded by some other Consortium nations last week to redeem their pledges. Britain signed an agreement to provide for release of £19 million out of its pledged £30 millions in the form of funds to finance private sector purchases in the UK (known as 'Kipping Loans' after the late Sir Norman Kipping who initiated it) while West Germany signed a formal agreement to release the entire Rs. 40.90 crores it had pledged.

Only the World Bank and the USA are thus left without having made any move to lift the ban on aid imposed during the India-Pakistan conflict. The USA is not likely to make any formal commitment until after the Shastri visit to Washington in February and the White House is able to know where it stands in relation to India.

In Washington Food Minister Subramaniam is meanwhile being put to considerable embarrassment by a flood of Johnsonian generosity which insists on forcing on India 15 million tons of foodgrains against the 10 millions Subramaniam was sent to ask for. The Americans, it appears, have a better idea of the extent of the food shortage we are going to be faced with next year, than even the best informed of the Food Ministry's statisticians. Indian ports straining their capacity to the limit can handle only eleven million tons a year and both the Government and the people of the country have been left with wondering what lies behind the White House's formidable gift.

17 January 1966

Communists Dominate Dominican Party

In mid-December 1965 a leading figure of the pro-Castro party, the Movimiento Revolucionario 14 de Junio -- MR-1J4 (formerly known as the "Agrupacion Politica Catorce de Junio" -- APCJ) was expelled by the party for speaking out against certain members of the party's leadership and for criticizing the road the party was taking. This was Luis Genao Espaillat, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the party and a former chief of the guerrillas who unsuccessfully revolted against the Reid Cabral regime in November 1963. The incident was first reported in an article which appeared in El Caribe of Santo Domingo on 16 December 1965. The following day a second article appeared in which Genao stated his side of the dispute: The major part of the highest leadership of the 14th of June Revolutionary Movement is Communist-directed and it is leading the party down a false path since he himself, having been to Communist China, North Korea, and Vietnam, could testify that the Communist system in those countries is a complete failure and the people live in misery and under an ugly dictatorship.

The party denied this the next day: For the leadership of the 14th the statement about China, North Korea, and North Vietnam is an insult to their heroic fights.... The people in those countries have freed themselves from the colonial oppression of imperialism and they go strong and happy in the building of their new life.

Things quieted down again until 28 December 1965 when Genao held a press conference attended by local and foreign press representatives. The highlights of the conference were:

A. Genao asked the militants of the party to eliminate the Communists and to lead the party on the road which its founder, Manolo Tavarez Justo, wanted. Tavarez Justo was not a Communist, but a nationalist.

B. Of the 14th of June leaders, Fidelio Despradel belongs to the Dominican Communist Party, and "Fafa" Taveras, Juan B. Mejia, and Julio de Pena Valdez are members of the Dominican Popular Movement (pro-Chicom).

C. The 14th of June receives funds from Moscow, Havana, and Peking through the embassies of those countries in Europe. The party sends it delegates to these embassies and they bring back money and propaganda material.

D. The 14th of June opposes the coming Dominican elections because it believes in obtaining power through violence.

E. Genao said he had had interviews in China with Mao Tse-tung; in North Vietnam with Ho Chi-Minh; in Algeria with Ben Bella; and in Cuba with Fidel and Raul Castro, Che Guevara, and Camilo Cienfuegos in 1959. The 14th of June requested aid from all these people and they agreed to give it.

The party's rebuttal to this damning statement came the next day. Its leaders declared that Genao is a CIA agent, that in countries governed by Communist regimes there is progress in social order, politics and economics, Communist China being a good example. They averred that they would support a Marxist-Leninist regime if one came to power in the Dominican Republic; the method by which this might come about was evident from their further statement that holding elections in the Dominican Republic would be "foolishness," that the climate for elections does not exist. And they said that representative democracy is not the solution to Latin American problems, attacking what they classified as the "false democratic" regimes under which Latin America has suffered.

Actually, Genao's exposure of Communist direction of the 14th of June Party should not come as a surprise. In 1962 Manolo Tavaréz Justo proclaimed the party's belief in Castroism. And in January of that same year a major split in the leadership of the party over the issue of Communist influence led to the resignations of five of its leaders. It is particularly worth noting that Genao's trip to Peking, Hanoi, Algiers and Havana in quest of support was undertaken as long ago as 1959. The natural outcome of the Communist direction of the 14th of June movement was indicated on 28 August 1965 when the Santo Domingo newspaper Patria reported a meeting of the extreme left groupings at which an "anti-imperialist" Popular Front was decided upon to include the MPD, the Dominican Communist Party, and the 14th of June.

El Caribe
16 December 1965

The 14th of June Will Expel
Executive Committee Member

A member of the executive committee of the Revolutionary Movement of the 14th of June and former chief of the guerrillas during the 1963 uprising, will be expelled shortly from that political organization. It has been learned that Luis Genao Espaillat, one of the principal directors of the 14th of June movement has been suspended from his functions within the movement. Espaillat is awaiting a disciplinary trial for his final expulsion.

The doctrinal committee of the 14th of June accuses him of "having committed grave violations of the principles of morality, honesty, and revolutionary discipline."

It is considered likely that the case of Luis Genao Espaillat will be brought to trial in the period before the congress which the 14th of June will celebrate in the near future.

Although the charges against Espaillat are not known for certain, it was unofficially learned that at a central meeting of the 14th of June he declared himself against the political trend being followed by that organization.

Espaillat, so it is said, asked for policy reforms, "due to the failure of the procedures of certain international programs which have been applied in the communist countries."

It was commented that there were some violent persons at the meeting and that they described Genao as a "reactionary" and an "element who has not understood the revolution of the people subjugated by imperialism." Espaillat's position in this respect is not known.

Espaillat was deported to Paris, after having been captured in the mountains. His exile advanced him to the Triumverate.

17 December 1965

Leadership of 1J⁴ Said To Be
Almost Completely Communist

The major part of the top leadership of the 14th of June Revolutionary Movement was accused yesterday of being communist by a member of the Executive Committee of that political organization.

Luis Genao Espaillet, ex-chief of the guerrillas during the uprising of November 1963, declared that the 1J⁴ "is torn between the nationalists on one side and the ultra-leftists on the other." Genao Espaillet stated that a change is necessary in the 1J⁴ leadership "because today the 1J⁴ is a minority organization."

Genao Espaillet, who has travelled to Communist China, North Korea, and North Vietnam as a delegate of the party, pointed out that the communist system in those countries "is a complete failure and the people live in misery and under an ugly dictatorship."

Genao Espaillet has invited the rest of the leaders of the 14th of June to a public debate "with the intent of showing the people that they are an appendix of conceptions that are not in communion with the ideas of the Dominican people." Genao Espaillet has been suspended from the party and will be subject to trial. The ex-14th of June leader is issuing a call to the former leaders and to militants of "patriotic sentiments so that they will take over the leadership of the party with a view to imposing the nationalist line upon it, rejecting communism." He says that "to the degree that the 1J⁴ has been going down that deviationary road large sectors have been alienated and removed from objective reality and it is lamentable that today the 14th of June is a minority organization." He added: "I am very sorry that those who direct the 14th of June have brought to public light these differences of an antagonistic nature, as I agree they are. For my part, I kept silent because I believed that it was not proper and did not correspond to the historical moment in which we are living, and that the national situation demanded unity, harmony, and no division." Genao Espaillet declared: "The procedure that they have used violates the most elementary standards of the statutory requirements, and the method that they have employed against me personally does not correspond to the stature of true political leaders, since they have used slander, insult, and defamation, and this standard of conduct shows the profound weakness of these gentlemen. I believe, and it is elementary, that contradictions of this type are to be combated with facts and not with slander."

He observed that since his imprisonment during the civil war last April, he has brought up the subject of the necessity of changing the policy of the 1J⁴. For the ex-14th of June leader, the 1J⁴ "since its birth, in its platform and in its statutes, has claimed to be the party of the middle class with a fixed strategic objective: the national

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liberation, which is nothing more than structural reforms more advanced than those which are keeping our country in a state of total backwardness; that is what is really understood by nationalism." He considers that communism "will not always dominate Latin America and when the North American forces resolve our problems of hunger, misery, and unemployment [sic]." In his judgment, the LJ4 is oriented in a direction contrary to the national majorities and signals "political failures all along its course." He classified the former leaders of the 14th of June, Doctor Manolo Tavarez and engineer Leandro Guzman, as "nationalists and true constitutionalist fighters."

Genao Espaillat said "the ultra-right, like the ultra-left, is a social evil which affects and interferes with the natural development of the people."

Patria
28 August 1965

UNITED FRONT FORMED
Appeal Made

Forty-six organizations, including the three leftist political parties and a labor confederation, endorse a document in which they express their inclination and their appeal toward the organizing of a broad united front of struggle for the withdrawal of the Yankee occupation troops, and for putting into force the democratic Constitution of 1963.

The document is open to the signature of any organization that supports the objectives of struggle as stated; one may join the movement by means of a public pronouncement.

The complete text of the document is as follows:

Let us Form the United Front Against the Yankee Invader.

In the present negotiations, the OAS Commission has not considered the position of the constitutional government and the Dominican people concerning the need for the departure of the interventionist forces from the country, leaving this important matter to future negotiations between the provisional government and the Tenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States, which formed said force and gave itself the exclusive right to disband it.

With this attitude, the OAS (representing the interests of the imperialist US Government) reiterates its purpose of maintaining the Yankee occupation troops in our country for an indefinite time, with the objective of continuing brutally to repress the democratic aspirations of our people, and to continue trampling on national sovereignty.

The fight for the withdrawal of the invading troops is thus converted into the fundamental task of the Dominican people. As long as there are Yankee troops on our territory and the monopolistic US interests plunder the nation, there will be neither democracy or social progress.

The signatory political parties and other organizations, knowing that the present negotiations (the product of US intervention in our country) will not result in the attainment of the objectives that gave rise to the glorious movement begun on 24 April (which objectives now constitute the fundamental basis for the unity of our people) assume the solemn commitment of pursuing the fight until the departure of the last Yankee invader from Dominican soil, and the definitive restoration of the Constitution of 1963.

Whatever the result of the present negotiations may be, the democratic forces must hold high the demands that impelled our people to take up arms and to conduct a heroic and valiant struggle for their liberty and independence. The fact that the Constitution of 1963 has not been restored

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at this time does not mean that the people have renounced that demand which corresponds to the present stage of the democratic revolution.

The watchwords "Withdrawal of the Yankee troops and their Latin American lackeys" and "Constitution of 1963" are the unifying and mobilizing watchwords of the masses, and they must be held high until they are achieved by the constitutionalist movement, which must remain united in order to confront the great battles that are coming.

This unity must materialize as soon as possible in the organization of a broad united front of struggle for the withdrawal of the Yankee occupation troops, and for the putting into force of the democratic Constitution of 1963. If we unite monolithically, if we decisively confront the Yankee enemy and their lackeys, nothing nor no one can prevent the triumph of the Dominican democratic revolution.

Let us organize the united front of struggle against the Yankee invader; let us prepare ourselves for the future combats for liberty, national sovereignty, and democracy.

The following endorse the document: 14th of June Revolutionary Movement; the PCD (Dominican Communist Party); the MPD (Dominican People's Movement); the Marxist-Leninist Party; the Foupso Cesitrado Confederation of Workers; the United Union of Workers of the Central Romana Corporation and of the Central Romana By-Products Co; and the POASI (Union of Arrimo Port Workers).

The following also sign: the ASOCHOIN (Association of Independent Drivers); the AMUCABA (Association of Musicians, Singers, and Dancers); the Association of Public Works Clerks and Laborers; the ADOMA (The Association of Dominican Lawyers); the Raul Cabrera Workers Cultural Association of Stevedores of the Port of Haina; the ANES (National Association of Secondary Students); the National Association of Social Security Employees; the Association of Writers; the Dominican Association of Painters and Sculptors; and the Association of AL-SI-SA-VI-TE Employees.

Also endorsing the document are: the FMD (Dederation of Dominican Women); the FENEPIA (National Federation of Public Employees and Employees of Autonomous Institutions); the FED (Federation of Dominican Students); the FENHERCA (National Federation of Peasant Brotherhoods); and the FENATRAICA (National Federation of Workers in the Construction Industry and Related Fields).

Also signing it are: the Cultural Front; the Union of Revolutionary Students; the JOR (Revolutionary Worker Youth); the UNTOP (National Union of Workers in Public Works); the Union of Sugar Cane Workers of Sabana Grande de Boya; the Cement Industry Union; Union of Workers of Barahona; Union of Municipal Government Workers of the District; Union of Workers

of Urban Public Works of the District; National Union of Plumbers; Union of Welders, Fitters, and Machine Cutters of Santo Domingo; Union of Peddlers of Santo Domingo; Union of Concrete Casters; Union of Mosaic Workers and Related Industries; Union of Electricians; Union of Painters; Union of Masons; Union of Carpenters of Santo Domingo; Union of Carpenters of San Juan de la Maguana; Union of Sack Makers and Dominican Textile Workers; Union of Textile Division of Las Minas; Union of Workers in the National Glass Industry; and also the Union of Workers in the Institute of Certified Public Accountants.

28 December 1965

Group Exhorted to Eliminate Communists

A former "catorcista" leader yesterday exhorted the members of the 14 of June Political Group "to eliminate the Communists, and to lead the party along the course desired by Manolo Tavarez." Luis Genao Espailat affirmed that Tavarez was not a Communist, but a nationalist, and that he supported the guerrillas of 1963 pressured by the Marxist-Leninists of the 1J4. In an interview with the national press and with foreign correspondents, Genao Espailat said that he opposes the intervention, "but that if the inter-American peace force leaves, the nation will fall into political cannibalism and civil war." He stated that the occupation troops "must leave after the installation of the government that emerges from the forthcoming elections." Genao Espailat, who was the commander of the guerrilla front that operated in the eastern region, said this of "Catorcista" leaders: that Fidelio Despradel "belongs to the PCD (Dominican Communist Party)"; and that "Fafa Taveras, Juan B. Mejia, and Julio de Pena Valdez work in the MPD (Dominican People's Movement)." He said that the MPD sees violence as a means of attaining power, while the PCD states the need for a ripening of conditions. He added that the 14th of June Group receives money from Moscow, Havana, and Peking through the embassies of those countries in Europe. He affirmed that the party sends delegates to Communist embassies of European nations; they bring money and ideological material. Genao Espailat said that a year ago he claimed to be a Communist, but that his "greatest aspiration today is that the 1J4 return to the course of nationalism and democracy." He said that the present directorate of the party will soon hold a pre-congress to try to legalize itself and maintain itself in power. He asserted that, in this pre-congress, the nationalist elements will be boycotted.

He said that he has received death threats, but that he will not be intimidated and that he will fight for democracy. He observed that today none of the founders belong to the party. It is probable, he said, that the 1J4 may oppose the forthcoming elections, because it follows the concept of taking power violently. "No Communist Party has attained power peacefully," he added. He stated that party members now give courses on Marxism-Leninism and "they distribute Communist books and reading material." He said: "The April revolt had a great democratic content, and we must see it with a popular framework. It was a movement against the misery and robberies, of great democratic scope." He affirmed that he was a Communist until he became convinced that "Communism is the negation of all liberties." Genao Espailat believes that he was expelled from the party for opposing the Communist doctrine. He said that he was in charge of the organization in Ciudad Nueva until 5 May, when he was assigned to organize the uprising of Santiago. He was captured in that city two days after his arrival there. He said that no movement was started because the people did not respond. According to him, his work for the party was so important that he visited several countries as an

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official delegate. He said that he had talked: in China, with people such as Mao Tse Tung and Ho Chi Minh; in Algeria, with Ben Bella; and in Cuba, with Fidel and Raul Castro, Che Guevara, and Camilo Cienfuegos in 1959. He said that the 1J4 requested aid of all these individuals, and that they had agreed to grant it. He stated: "The 1J4 has been losing strength since it fell into Communist hands in 1962. Communism does not represent a danger for the nation. It is a minority." Among what he called "errors committed" by the party, he mentioned the elections, the guerrilla warfare of 1963, and the struggle of San Francisco de Macoris, during the months of the armed revolt. He emphasized that the 14th of June Group had urged the people not to vote, but that a massive vote had resulted in the past elections. Regarding the guerrilla fighting, he said that in these "a good number of brave men and youths had been lost because of the poor leadership of the party."

El Caribe
30 December 1965

The 1J4 Considers it Foolish to Speak of Primaries Now

The 14th of June Revolutionary Movement thinks that "it is foolishness" to speak of elections in this country at the present time.

In a press conference, the three principal leaders of that political organization gave their attention to various aspects of the national complex of problems.

In regard to elections, they stated emphatically that, "If the United States does not succeed in installing Dr. Joaquin Balaguer as president, there will not be any [election]."

Speaking on behalf of the 14th of June, Rafael Taveras, Fidelio Despradel and Juan B. Mejia asserted that an electoral climate does not exist in the country.

They accused former 1J4 leader Luis Genao Espaillat of being an employee of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States.

They described him as an instrument of and spokesman for the oligarchy and the Interamerican Peace Force, branding him a "traitor to the Dominican Revolution."

These political leaders said, "The democratic movements in the Dominican Republic are on the verge of being suppressed by the Yankees."

They recognize that progress in the social, economic and political spheres exists in countries which are governed by communist regimes. They cited the specific case of Red China.

They indicated indirectly that if a Marxist-Leninist regime were to take over the power in this country they would support it. They stated that they had sent a representative to the Tri-Continental Conference which the Communists are currently holding in Havana.

They stated that, shortly before the death of the former leader of the 14th of June, Dr. Manuel A. Tavaréz Justo, he received an invitation from the Socialist government of Algeria to visit that country.

They denied having sent Genao Espaillat at any time to interview Communist politicians. They said that they have visited Communist countries on various continents.

They also accused the Provisional Government of "representing the same interests as does Donald Reid Cabral."

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They advocate "a revolution against imperialism and feudalism; a revolutionary and democratic one."

They attack what they call "false democratic regimes" which Latin America has had to endure.

They think that the Hotel Matum events in Santiago were organized "to assassinate the constitutionalist soldiers, but their failure represented the culmination of the bankruptcy of imperialism."

They observe that "the generals will not leave the country because the imperialists want to keep them in their positions; but the people will mobilize, so that the crime of the Hotel Matum will not remain unpunished."

For the 14th of June leaders, the law which outlaws their party is illegal and they are disregarding it. They will put through its annulment.

These young politicians were of the opinion that the principal daily newspapers of the capital city serve the interests of "Yankee imperialism."

Representatives of the national and international press were present at the conference.

Before the conference came to a close, Rafael Taveras stated that he knew ahead of time that the journalists would distort the information which they were giving.

Some of the Dominican journalists indicated that they were in disagreement with the premature statement of the person who had been a commander during the civil war.